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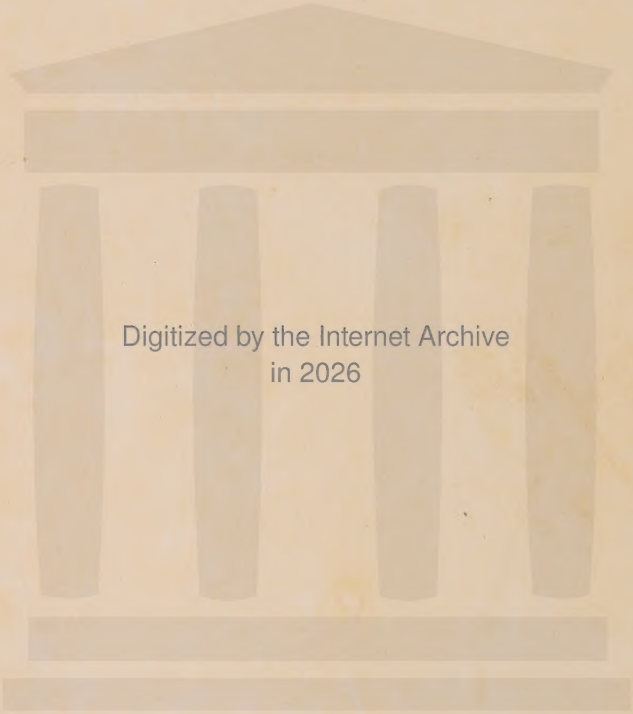
ADAM W. SNYDER
IN
ILLINOIS
HISTORY
1817-1842

Miss Olive Snyder Soutter.
with best wishes
of Dr. J. Snyder.
Virginia, Ills.
Oct. 29th, 1906.

Joe Crane
1979



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Yours respectfully
A. W. Snyder.

ADAM W. SNYDER,

AND HIS PERIOD IN ILLINOIS HISTORY,

1817-1842.

BY JOHN FRANCIS SNYDER, M. D.

"To rescue a name worthy to be remembered and honored, to recall great events, to look back upon the deeds of those gone before us, are objects worthy of all consideration." —*Hon. E. B. Washburne.*

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PREFACE.

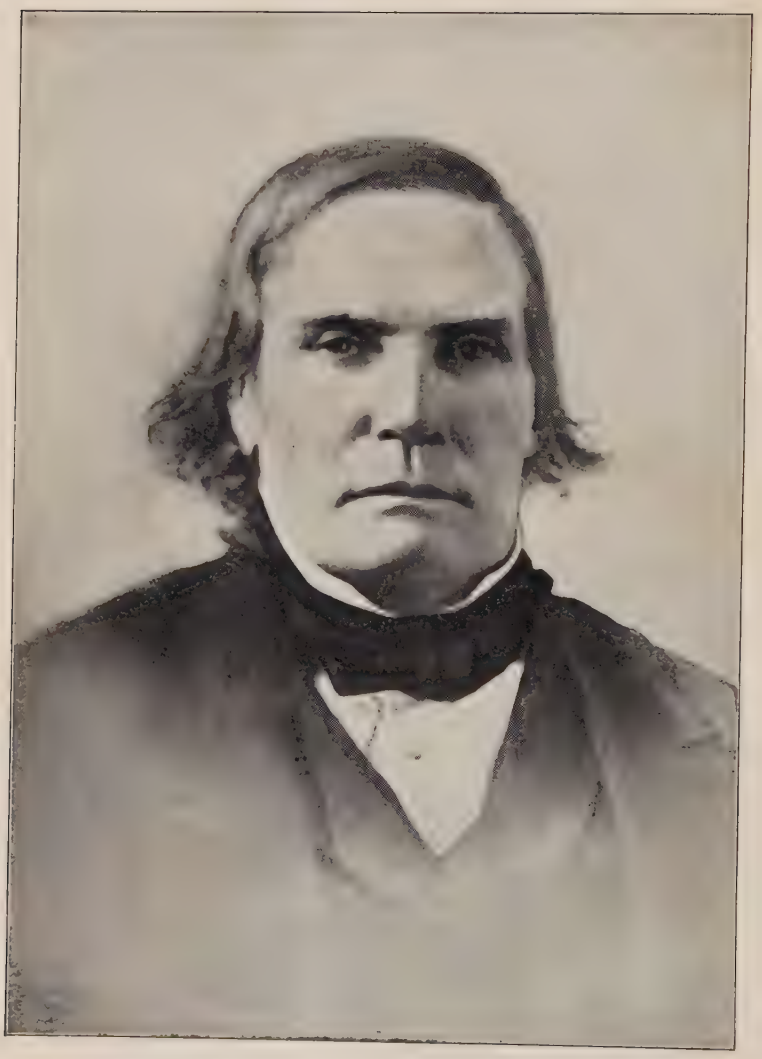
In the following pages no pretense is made of exhaustive or systematic history of Illinois. Only so much of that history is blended with the biographical sketch of Adam W. Snyder, here presented, as to serve for a general review of the growth and progress of the State, of its Legislative management, and the contentions of its political parties, within the period included from 1817 to 1842, with notices—more or less brief—of some of the prominent public men of that era.

To write a full and satisfactory memoir of Mr. Snyder I found to be a difficult and discouraging undertaking, owing to the extreme paucity of necessary data. But a small boy myself at the date of his death, my remembrance of him is quite vague. All other members of his immediate family, and very nearly all others who personally knew him, had passed away. He was always very reticent concerning himself and his genealogy, and if at any time he confided to anyone an account of his parents, and the story of his early life, that knowledge had long since been buried in the grave. Until I had almost finished this self-imposed task, not half a dozen pages of his manuscript were known to be extant. Then a number of his letters were discovered among the old forgotten papers of the late Gov. Koerner, to whom they were written, and have herein been incorporated.

However, enough of his history was gleaned from public records and various other sources, to trace his

successful career from obscure poverty to the honorable station he attained by the force of his genius—with flattering prospects of still higher advancement—when, in the noontide of his manhood, death called him from the stage of action. It is not claimed that he was a great, or very superior, man; but he was one of the self-reliant, self-educated and self-elevated pioneers, of pure character and sterling worth, whose labors and talents contributed, in some measure, to the incipient greatness and glory of Illinois. Surely no apology is necessary for this effort, however feeble, to rescue from oblivion the name and achievements of one who witnessed the birth of our great State, who was heard with deference in its councils, and who was debarred from its highest honors only by untimely death.

Virginia, Ill. J. F. Snyder.



HON. JESSE BURGESS THOMAS.

INTRODUCTION.

Jesse Burgess Thomas, the man who discovered Adam W. Snyder, and gave direction to his opinions and course through life, was a conspicuous actor in the political evolutions of Illinois and its material progress from a trackless, lawless wilderness populated by a few Canadian French colonists and tribes of nomadic savages, to the position of a great State in the American Union. Physically rugged and intellectually strong, he possessed abilities that peculiarly fitted him for the rude experiences and difficulties of pioneer life, and for overcoming all obstacles in his way to success.

He was born in Hagerstown, Maryland, in 1777, where the Thomas family long resided, and was descended from Lord George Calvert, of the Irish peerage created in 1624, to whose son, Sir Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, the Maryland patent was issued by Charles the Second, on June 20th, 1632.

In 1779 his parents left Maryland and removed to Bracken county, Kentucky. There he grew up, working on the farm and attending such schools as the backwoods then afforded. In course of time he studied law with his elder brother, Richard Symmes Thomas, a distinguished lawyer, who subsequently located in Lebanon, Ohio. After his admission to the bar, Jesse B. Thomas commenced the practice of law at his home in Brookville, the county seat of Bracken county, and shortly afterwards married an estimable young lady of that

neighborhood, and settled down, apparently for the rest of his days.

Man, however, is but the puppet of circumstances, and his course in life is directed and shaped, in a great degree, by agencies, or accidents, unforeseen and beyond his control. Mr. Thomas had been married scarcely a year when death robbed him of his young wife and thereby destroyed his well-laid plans and bright anticipations of the future. The sad scenes of his great bereavement were then so intolerable that he was compelled to leave them for peace of mind. With other emigrants, he went to Indiana Territory and located in Lawrenceburg, the county seat of Dearborn county, and there again commenced the practice of his profession. That county was organized on the 7th of March, 1803, and on the 3d of January, 1805, Mr. Thomas was elected a delegate to represent it in the Territorial legislature that convened at Vincennes on the 1st of February following, in obedience to the proclamation issued by Hon. William Henry Harrison, the newly appointed Governor of the Territory. That meeting of the delegates was for the purpose of selecting members of the legislative council, or Senate, which they accomplished, and adjourned. Again, by proclamation of Governor Harrison, the completed legislature met at Vincennes on the 29th of July, and, in its organization, Mr. Thomas was chosen to preside as Speaker, over the house of delegates. He was re-elected Speaker at the second session, serving in that capacity three years and one month, when he was elected Territorial delegate to Congress, to succeed Benjamin Parke, who had resigned.

During his first legislative term he was commissioned by Governor Harrison, a Captain in the militia, and

while serving the second term he married the widow of Major John Francis Hamtramck, and upon his election for delegate to Congress, changed his residence to Vincennes.

After the admission of Ohio into the Union, in 1802, Indiana Territory was organized, embracing the present states of Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois, with General William Henry Harrison, then a Virginia member of Congress, appointed Territorial Governor by President Jefferson. The only settlements in Illinois at that time were at Kaskaskia, Cahokia and a few other villages in their vicinity. The remoteness of the people from their Territorial capital, Vincennes, and the difficulties and dangers in maintaining communication with it, caused them to desire a division of the Territory and the establishment of a capital and Territorial government of their own. The question of separation was agitated by the Illinois settlers, and was made the issue in the election of their representative to the Legislature of 1808. A majority of the Indiana members were decidedly opposed to the separation, as was also Mr. Parke, the Congressional delegate. When he resigned, an opportunity was offered the Illinois members to elect his successor in their interest.

Speaker Thomas, ambitious for promotion, desired to succeed Mr. Parke in Congress, but could not be elected without support of the Illinoisans, and they would vote for him only on condition that he would pledge himself, if elected, to secure from Congress an act for division of the Territory. This pledge he gave without hesitation, but the Illinoisans at that early date had so little confidence in promises of politicians that they exacted of him a written bond for the faithful execution of his

pledge, and that he gave them. He was elected by a bare majority, and that, too, it was said, by voting for himself. His term in Congress, as delegate, was brief, serving from the 1st of December, 1808, to the 3d of March, 1809. But he fulfilled to the letter the terms of his obligation to the Illinoisans, securing passage of the law organizing the separate Territory of Illinois, with its capital at Kaskaskia, approved March 7, 1809. The citizens of Vincennes were so incensed at what they considered his perfidity that they hung him in effigy, and heaped upon him, on his return from Washington, the vilest abuse and reproach.

Division of Indiana Territory necessarily terminated Mr. Thomas' Congressional service. Aware of the unpopularity of Territorial division in Indiana, and knowing that it was fatal to his further political aspirations there, he made provision for the future by obtaining from President Madison, before leaving Washington City, the appointment to one of the three federal judgeships for the new Territory of Illinois. Arriving at Vincennes he immediately proceeded to his fresh field of official labors and settled near Prairie du Rocher, ten miles north of Kaskaskia.

His colleagues on the bench were Obediah Jones and Alexander Stuart. Nathaniel Pope, of Kentucky, who had received the appointment of Territorial Secretary, had preceded the judges, and was located in Kaskaskia, the designated capital. The newly appointed Governor of Illinois Territory, Ninian Edwards, arrived shortly after from Kentucky with a number of negro slaves, and herds of live stock of different kinds, and located on the alluvial bottom in close proximity to Judge Thomas, and there established an extensive farm that he named

"Elvirade," in honor of his wife Elvira. As an inducement to those very competent men to accept, with their offices and meagre salaries, social exile and many privations on the far western frontier, Congress, by special act, granted to the Governor one thousand acres of land, and to each of the other appointees five hundred acres, to be selected by them from any part of the public domain within the territory not reserved for forts, or already occupied by settlers. By agreement, the Territorial officials located their grants of land in the same locality, on the alluvial plain near the range of bluffs.

But rural life was not agreeable to Judge Thomas, and he soon changed his residence to Cahokia, the county seat of St. Clair county, where he held court and identified himself with the society and interests of that old village. "He was," says Gov. Reynolds, "a man of talents, but did not particularly employ his mind on the dry subtilties of the law."* His brain was too active to be enslaved by the dry drudgery of the courts. During his nine years' residence in Cahokia, and of his incumbency of the Territorial judgeship, he discharged his official duties with marked ability, fidelity and promptness, and yet found time to engage in various business pursuits advantageous to his own financial interests. He carried on farming, and several other industries, and was always ready to embark in any enterprise of benefit to the public and himself.

Of the domestic animals introduced into the Territory at an early day, sheep soon ranked among the most valuable, their wool being indispensable to the pioneers for the manufacture of blankets and various articles of clothing. The method then employed for converting

*Reynolds Pioneer History of Illinois. Second edition. 1887, p. 401

wool, with home-raised cotton, into jeans, linsey and other textile fabrics in common use, involved a great amount of tedious, patient manual labor. The carding of wool by hand with small cards to fit it for the spinning wheel was a slow process, consuming much time that the women could apply profitably to other household duties. Observing that fact, Judge Thomas concluded that a wool-carding machine moved by ox-power, such as were then in successful operation in parts of Kentucky and Ohio, if established in Cahokia, would be patronized by the community, and very probably prove for himself a paying investment.

An obstacle encountered at the inception of that enterprise was the want of an expert in the wool-carding art to take charge of and manage the business. He could hear of no one in the Territory who knew anything about a carding machine, but he was not the kind of man to be deterred from an object or purpose he had determined upon by such a trifling difficulty as that. He was assured that in Ohio, where his relatives resided, he could readily secure the services of a competent person well acquainted with that industry, whom he could employ on reasonable terms. For some time he had contemplated a visit to his kinsmen in Ohio, and that new project decided him to go there at once. Having made all necessary preparations, he left Cahokia early in the sping of 1817 and proceeded by keel boat down the Mississippi and up the Ohio river to Pittsburg. There he purchased, with goods of various kinds, the cards and machinery for the modest factory he proposed planting in Cahokia as an experiment. From Pittsburg Judge Thomas continued his journey to the interior of Ohio. At Mt. Vernon, the county seat of Knox county,

while enjoying his visit among relatives, he learned, in answer to his inquiries, that a young man familiar with wool carding by machinery had recently come into that county, and was then in the employ of David McFarland, the owner of a country store at a little cross-roads place a few miles south-east of Mt. Vernon. Riding out to that place some days later, Judge Thomas met the youth mentioned and was very favorably impressed with his many appearance and intelligence.

He was a tall, straight stripling, not yet eighteen years of age, with fair complexion, dark sandy hair, and blueish-gray eyes, quite gentlemanly in his manner and deportment, and a fluent, though modest, talker. Having the world before him from which to coerce his fortune, and seeing now a profitable opportunity to reach the far west—the objective point of his day dreams and journeyings—he gladly accepted the Judge's proposition to go to Cahokia and take charge of the carding machine there. Notwithstanding Mr. McFarland's great reluctance to part with him, he soon came to an agreement with Judge Thomas regarding terms and wages.

Steamboats were then beginning to revolutionize the means of transportation on the western rivers. The first boat propelled by steam power west of the Allegheny mountains was the "New Orleans," built at Pittsburg, Pa., in 1811, by Robert Fulton, Chancellor Livingston and Nicholas J. Roosevelt, all of New York, just four years after the Clermont, built by Fulton and Livingston, made—on the Hudson river between New York City and Albany—the first successful passage ever achieved by a steam-driven boat. The first steamboat to ascend the Mississippi above the mouth of the

Ohio was the "General Pike," that arrived at St. Louis on the 2d day of August, 1817, having on board the goods and carding machine purchased by Judge Thomas at Pittsburg.*

In pursuance of the act of Congress, approved on the 18th of April, 1818, enabling the people of the Territory of Illinois to form, on certain specified conditions, a State government, an election was held on the first Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 6th, 7th and 8th of July, of that year, for delegates to a convention to frame a State constitution. At that election Judge Thomas was chosen one of the three delegates from St. Clair county; and when the delegates came together at Kaskaskia, on the first Monday of the following month, August 3, and organized the convention, Judge Thomas was elected its presiding officer, or President.

The first legislature of the new State, comprising thirteen senators and twenty-five representatives, convened at Kaskaskia on the 5th of October, 1818. After completing its organization, it proceeded, on December the 4th, to the election of two United States Senators, one of whom was the Territorial Governor, Ninian Edwards, and the other, Judge Jesse B. Thomas. The third general assembly re-elected Judge Thomas for another term, extending his services in the Senate to March 3d, 1829. In 1820, when the question of admitting the Territory of Missouri into the Union as a slave state was under consideration by Congress, Judge Thomas proposed its solution by offering to the Senate an amendment embodying the famous "Missouri compromise" measure, and was chairman of the conference

* That is traditional only. Much more probably the articles purchased at Pittsburg by Judge Thomas were conveyed to Cahokia by keel boats, and arrived there long before the General Pike.

committee of representatives selected by both houses of Congress that agreed upon recommending its adoption. And his influence and persistent efforts secured its final adoption by Congress. To his astute statesmanship, therefore, the country was indebted for quieting, for many years, the exciting and vicious agitation of extension of slavery into the territories.

Until his removal from Illinois, in 1829, he was always an advocate of slavery, and partial to the south and southern institutions. He was a personal friend and political supporter of Hon. William H. Crawford, of Georgia, and, in 1824, was a member of the Congressional caucus that placed that gentleman in nomination for the presidency—that being then the usual method of nominating presidential candidates. In zealously supporting Mr. Crawford he antagonized General Jackson, for whom he had no admiration and but little respect, with the result of alienating from himself the confidence and friendship of the party in Illinois, then loyal to Jackson, of which he had been a strong and conspicuous leader. With too much self respect and pride of character to stultify himself by humbly giving his allegiance to Jackson, even for a Senatorship, he manfully accepted the alternative, and, at the close of his second term in the Senate, left the State and located in Mt. Vernon, Ohio, and there henceforth acted with the Whig party.

"In 1840 he took an active part in effecting the nomination of his old friend, Gen. Harrison, for president, and attended the (Whig) convention held that year at Columbus, Ohio. In 1829 he assisted in the organization of St. Paul's Episcopal church at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, of which he was a consistent member, and where he owned

a large property. He was also one of the town proprietors of Brookville, Franklin county, Indiana. In stature he was full six feet, with florid-brown complexion, dark hazel eyes, dark brown hair (nearly black), with a well-developed muscular system, and weighed over two hundred pounds; was very particular in his personal appearance, and had the mode of a refined gentleman of the last century; was very considerate of the rights and feelings of others, and would not buy at a sheriff's sale.

"He died childless at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, leaving a large estate, May 4, 1853, aged 75 years."*

In the seventy-sixth year of his age his vigorous mind became deranged, and his eventful and distinguished life was suddenly terminated by his own act. His wife, Rebekah, for whom he retained all his youthful affection, died in 1851. From constantly brooding over her death and his lonely condition, his great intellect was gradually overwhelmed by deep dejection and melancholy until his existence became an intolerable burden. Evading the vigilance of those who were caring for him, he committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor.

* Footnote by Samuel Morrison on pp. 401-402 of Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois. Second (or Fergus) edition. Chicago, 1887.

CHAPTER I.

Adam W. Snyder and his genealogy—Clerking in a country store in Knox County, Ohio, when discovered by Judge Thomas—Condition of Illinois when he arrived at Cahokia, in 1817—A wool carder and law student.

The young man Judge Thomas met at David McFarland's store in Knox county, Ohio, and employed to run his carding machine at Cahokia, was named Adam Wilson Snyder.

He was born in Connellsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, on the 6th of October, 1799. His father, Adam Snyder, was a native of Strasburg, in Alsace—until 1870 a province of France—and migrated to America when a young man, locating in the town of Reading, Pennsylvania, where he followed his trade of house carpenter. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, and while in that service, was wounded at the battle of Brandywine. After his discharge from the colonial army he changed his residence to the vicinity of Harrisburg, and there remained until the death of his wife, when he moved to Connellsville, and was a citizen of that place until his death, at an advanced age, in 1830. He was twice married. Of his first marriage nothing is now definitely known, only that his wife died in or near Harrisburg, Pa., leaving three children, a son and two daughters. His second marriage was with a widow, Schaeffer, whose maiden name was Hartzell. The fruits of that union were four children, named Adam W., Hiram, Solomon K., and Lydia.*

Nothing is now known of Adam W. Snyder's early boyhood, excepting that he was reared in poverty, and

* See Appendix, Note A, for further family history.

began when quite young to be self-sustaining. Though tall and well proportioned, he was never robust, or capable of severe physical exertion. With inherited consumptive diathesis, and unable to bear the strain of continued manual labor, he was compelled to seek some other, and less arduous, sphere of activity by which to earn subsistence. By working during the summer months at wool carding and other light occupations he managed to support himself and attend an occasional term of school during the winter months. He was precocious intellectually, and with those limited opportunities gained a fair knowledge of the elementary branches usually taught in the country schools at that time.*

Weary of the hopeless drudgery that had been his lot from childhood, and aspiring to a higher and better condition in life he saw no possibility of attaining there, he was moved by an irresistible impulse to go out into the world and attempt to win from it, besides his daily bread, an honorable position among men. The opportunities for accomplishing the realization of that purpose in western Pennsylvania at that time by any other means than muscular contention with the stony, reluctant soil, were so few and uninviting that he concluded, when seventeen years of age, to try his fortunes in the far west, of which he had heard such glowing accounts. Fully determined upon that course he took leave of his parents and kindred and proceeded, afoot and alone, to Brownsville, and from that point worked his passage on a flatboat down the Monongahela river to Pittsburg.

* There are reasons for believing that when quite young he was apprenticed by his father, to a wool carder; and that servitude becoming intolerable, he took unceremonious leave of his master before expiration of his period of indenture, and left the state.

His father's first children, a son and two daughters, had, some years before, emigrated to the western part of Ohio, and they were comfortably settled and prosperous. His half brother, engaged in farming in Prebble county in that state, near the border of Indiana, had invited him to come there, assuring him that he would readily secure remunerative employment in his neighborhood at some suitable occupation. The romance and glamour of the boundless west and mighty Mississippi had captivated his fancy, and inspired him with the spirit of adventure and enterprise. In order to reach the goal of his day dreams he had concluded to accept his brother's invitation and remain there until he earned means sufficient to continue his journey farther westward. With that view he resolutely set out from Pittsburg to traverse the state of Ohio afoot, with all his worldly possessions tied up in a moderately sized bundle carried on his back.

He had accomplished about the half of that long and wearisome tramp when he arrived one evening, tired and footsore, at the straggling crossroads settlement in Knox county having its one store of general merchandise belonging to Mr. McFarland, a young man but a few years older than himself. It was on the main overland route from New York and Pennsylvania to the western territories, and the little store was well patronized by many of the emigrants daily passing it, and also by neighboring settlers. The merchant needed an assistant to help him serve his numerous customers until the close of the migrating season, and, as the young traveler laid his pack down and, seating himself on a box near the store door, enquired if there was a tavern in the village where he could stay over night, the thought

occurred to Mr. McFarland that this dust-soiled pilgrim at his door might answer his purpose as a clerk. To his questions the young wayfarer gave straightforward answers, telling frankly his simple antecedents and the object of his long journey.

His pluck and perseverance and the evident candid truthfulness of his story strongly impressed Mr, McFarland, and he invited him to his home near by to pass the night, and the invitation was gratefully accepted. After further conversation, so well pleased was the merchant with the intelligence and practical ideas of the young stranger that he offered him the position in his store, stipulating a reasonable salary for his services.

That proposition, affording needed rest and the opportunity for earning means to further prosecute his westward travels, was accepted by young Snyder, and next morning he was installed in his new vocation. With no previous training or experience in that line of business, his natural aptness soon enabled him to become so efficient that his employer was very desirous to retain him indefinitely at a higher salary.

Illinois Territory was then attracting widespread attention and enlisting the interest especially of the restless and enterprising classes of the older states. To the sturdy agriculturists who wished to secure cheap and fertile land, it presented extraordinary inducements. To laborers and mechanics, to capitalists with means to invest, to professional men, and adventurers who had nothing to lose and all to gain, and to young men of energy, industry and ambition, bent upon advancing their fortunes, it was reputed to be a most promising field. Young Snyder had heard something of the grand prairies, the beautiful woodlands and fine lakes and

streams of that distant region—enough to stir him with a longing desire to see it, and a fixed intention to get there, if possible, and to cast his destinies with its people. So, when the unexpected proposal of Judge Thomas was offered, to proceed there at once, with assurance of remunerative employment on arrival at his destination, he saw the realization of his hopes at hand, and gladly accepted it, though regretting to part with his newly-found friends who had treated him with such disinterested kindness.

Taking leave of his employer* and the villagers about the store, he once more slung his pack over his shoulders and, with youthful vigor and buoyant spirts, again set his face westward in the early hours of a beautiful morning in May. He walked all the way to Cincinnati, thence descended the Ohio river in a flatboat to Shawneetown, and from that settlers' gateway into Illinois walked, in company with other immigrants, to Cahokia, arriving there early in June, 1817.

Cahokia—the oldest town in the Mississippi valley, a village of the Tamarwa and Cahokia Indians when Father Pinet established a mission there in 1698—was, in 1817, but little surpassed in population by Kaskaskia, the Territorial capital, and quite its equal in commercial importance. It was no longer the county seat of St. Clair county—Belleville, 12 miles east of it, having been made the seat of justice of the county three years before—but the county officials still resided there. John Hays, a native of New York, was sheriff of the county

* In 1819 Mr. McFarland disposed of his interests in Ohio and followed Mr. Snyder to Illinois. He stopped for awhile at Edwardsville, and in the spring of 1820 purchased a farm in Ridge Prairie, St. Clair county, seven miles north of Belleville, and there resided until his death, which occurred on the 20th of February, 1872. He ever retained a warm feeling for the young stranger he had employed in his country store, and remained through life his steadfast personal and political friend.

from 1802 to 1819, and postmaster at Cahokia for an equal length of time. John Hay, born in Detroit and the son of a Pennsylvanian, was clerk of the county and circuit courts, probate judge and notary public for many years. Cahokia was also the home of Judge Thomas, Dr. William G. Goforth, John Reynolds, Joseph A. Beaird, a future State Senator, William Anderson Beaird, subsequently sheriff from 1819 to 1830, and a few other "Americans," as the English-speaking settlers were designated by the French inhabitants. They all spoke the Creole dialect and conformed to Creole customs, and those of the intrusive element who were married, with the exception of Judge Thomas, had Creole wives. They promoted in a marked degree the business interests of the old town, and, with their educated sons and daughters, imparted to its society quite a tone of refinement.

The native French population of the American Bottom were, with few exceptions, non-progressive, indolent and generally illiterate, giving but little thought to the problems of life beyond gratification of present wants and comfort, trusting the future to Providence and the priest—the priest especially, who was their amanuensis, business adviser and spiritual guide. They had no incentive to avarice, no inclination to depravity, nor ambition for wealth or distinction. Personal ease and festive amusement were apparently the chief objects of their existence. They were merry, friendly and hospitable, and while the broadest freedom of speech and action was tolerated in their social intercourse, they were sober, honest and virtuous.

The prolific soil, and other natural resources of the country, supplied them bountifully with all necessaries

for subsistence with little exertion on their part. As they were not prodigal of labor, and were totally without enterprise or public spirit, providing food, shelter and clothing was about the limit of their industrial efforts. Exempt from the curse of taxation and other penalties of more refined civilization, and having no artificial wants to harass them, they were contented, and as contentment is better than riches, they were opulent and happy.† They were singularly tolerant of strangers of nationalities, creeds and languages differing from their own. Recognizing the advantages and power of education, they meekly yielded the palm of superiority to the "Americans," and willingly submitted to their political supremacy. They assimilated readily with inferior races, adopting unhesitatingly inferior methods, but their simple habits, manners and customs were little affected or improved by contact with people of advanced culture. They dwelled in harmony and accord with the incoming descendants of the Anglo-Saxon, and the dark-eyed Creole maiden, or widow, who was taken in marriage by an "American," was regarded by the community as peculiarly fortunate.

In 1817 the pioneers were rapidly extending their settlements throughout the southern portion of Illinois Territory. The Indians formerly roaming over that region had retired north to, and beyond, the Sangamon river, with the exception of a few wandering bands who lingered about their ancestral hunting grounds, loath to

† Ensign Butricke, writing from Fort Chartres on Feb. 12, 1769, said: "The French are here (as in all other parts I have seen them in) a cunning, litigious, jealous set of people." (Historical Magazine, Vol. VIII, No. 8.) That assertion seems to be sustained by provincial Notarial records, and by the early court dockets of St. Clair and Randolph counties. Mr. Snyder's premises at Belleville were overrun and his hospitality sorely taxed at every term of court there by French litigants from the Bottom, who, in many instances, prompted by envy, jealousy, or malice, appealed to the law to redress trivial wrongs, real or fancied.

leave them, as bees that still circle around their destroyed hive. The last wild buffalo in Illinois was killed in 1816, and the last of the elks in 1818.* A few beavers successfully eluded their merciless human enemies for some years later. The last two known in central Illinois were killed in that portion of the Sangamon river traversing Menard county, in 1876.

The stream of immigrants coming into the Territory from the southern and eastern states, and a few from Europe, was annually increasing. Settlements, planted at first only adjacent to rivers near the borders of the territory, had then spread for many miles inland, and dotted the country over, at intervals, from the Mississippi to the Wabash. The Indian title to the salines in Gallatin and Vermilion counties was extinguished, and the production of salt there had grown to be an important industry. Mills operated by horse or water power were erected here and there, and a few tan yards for conversion of raw hides into leather were successfully conducted. Then, and for several years later, farms, known as "clearings," were all made on timbered lands, or alluvial bottoms, as no means had yet been introduced or contrived for "breaking" the heavy prairie sod, and in consequence prairie lands were undesirable and considered valueless excepting for grazing purposes.

Each French village had its Catholic church. In some of the new settlements were beginnings of Protestant religious organizations, and a few school houses. Lawless and vicious characters were usually among the first to seek the frontiers—to escape the obligations of civil power, the collection of debts, and penalties for their crimes. Their presence in the new settlements where

* History of the English Settlement in Edwards county. By George Flower, Chicago. Fergus Co.; 1882, p. 293-358.

society is yet unregulated by constitutional authority, has a demoralizing influence, tending to degradation and social depravity. Illinois at that early date—as all our outlying territories have been before and since—was the refuge of that class who recognized no law, civil or moral.

The Territory of Illinois had but ten counties organized in 1817, and in some of those the restraints of law were so lax that a condition approaching anarchy prevailed. Some of the counties were infested with outlaws, horse thieves and counterfeiters, so numerous and well combined as to defy the feeble Territorial provisions for the administration of justice. "Many of the sheriffs, justices of the peace, and constables, were of the number, and even some of the judges of the county courts, and they had numerous friends to aid them and sympathize with them among those who were least suspected. When any of them were arrested, they either escaped from the slight jails of those times, or procured some of their gang to be on the jury, and they never lacked witnesses to prove themselves innocent."*

Those continued abuses and outrages compelled the respectable and honest citizens to band together in companies of "Regulators," and take enforcement of the laws into their own hands. Miscreants apprehended were tried in the court of Judge Lynch, and, if found guilty, were summarily punished. By that vigourous course the perpetration of crime was in time abated in all the settlements excepting those bordering on the Ohio river. There ready escape into the swamps and into Kentucky enabled the ruffians when pursued to baffle the Regulators until 1831, when the citizens generally of two or three border counties combined, with

* Ford's History of Illinois, pp. 232-3.

arms and one small piece of artillery, and stormed their stronghold near the Ohio, killing some, and dispersing the balance, effectually rid the State of their presence and misdeeds.

The office seeeker was abroad in almost every town and settlement, busily agitating the question of State organization, circulating petitions to Congress for necessary legislation to that end, and making the people believe the Territory contained the requisite population of 40,000 for admission into the Union as a State. The prevalence of lawlessness and crime was an effective argument for adopting a stronger and more systematic form of government, and but few opposed the movement.

Such was the condition of Illinois Territory when Adam W. Snyder, one sultry evening in June, arrived in Cahokia, dusty and tired, from his last hundred mile walk, and laid down his pack at the door of the village *auberge*, or inn. Judge Thomas lost no time after his return from the east in getting ready the necessary materials for his carding machine building. In a short time he had on the ground the lumber, rock, etc., required, also the masons and carpenters, and the work was commenced under his immediate supervision. The structure was of wood, supported several feet above the ground by pillars and walls of stone, forming a roomy basement for the motive power, a great inclined wheel, to be revolved on its vertical axis by the constant tread of oxen.

Young Snyder arrived in Cahokia a few days before Judge Thomas, and by the time all preparations were made to commence work on the building he was sufficiently rested to offer his services in any capacity in which he could be useful. Prolonged idleness was not one of

his habits, nor would the state of his attenuated finances permit him to long indulge in it; so, he set in as a day laborer, mixing mortar and carrying it in a hod to the masons as needed, and placing the building stones within their convenient reach. When the stone work was finished he discarded the hod, but continued his labors as an attendant upon, and general help to, the carpenters until the house was completed. About that time the cards and machinery arrived and were placed in position and geared to the treadwheel. He was then installed in overalls and apron on the main floor above the patient, trudging oxen on the wheel, to keep them moving while the cards and drums converted for his customers their packages of wool into rolls suitable for the spinning wheel.

That carding machine erected by Judge Thomas was the first one in Illinois—the humble pioneer of a vast industry that has contributed largely to creating the wealth and greatness of the State.

The old French town and its quaint people speaking—to him—an unknown tongue, and all his other novel surroundings, at first impressed the young Pennsylvanian strangely and not very favorably, but the cordial welcome and respect that greeted him wherever he went quickly dissipated the unpleasantness of his isolated situation. The machine was well patronized from the day it was set in motion, and was operated to its full capacity daily—Sundays excepted—until late in the autumn. And when the carding season closed the young wool carder was gratified by the assurance that his work had been very satisfactory to his patrons and employer alike.

He had in early life learned the German language,

then, in Cahokia, surrounded by a French-speaking people, he applied himself diligently, with the parish priest as his instructor, to learning the French language also. In that study he made rapid progress, and as he gradually mastered the Creole dialect his associations became more agreeable, and his interests more closely interwoven with those of his fellow villagers. His social, affable disposition and frank, pleasant manners attracted friendships; the unaffected, simple society of Cahokia, recognizing no castes, or distinctions based on vocations or degrees of wealth, was very gracious to him, and, before winter had passed, included him among its favorites.

A better acquaintance with the young man, as time passed, increased the interest of Judge Thomas in his welfare. Observation of certain traits of his mind and character led the Judge to believe that the boy was fitted for a higher station in life than the one he then occupied. At the close of Indian summer, when the machine was shut up for the winter, he settled with him and paid him the wages he had earned. He complimented him highly for his honest, faithful attention to business, and then said that while he would gladly retain him in that employment as long as he would remain in it, he thought him entirely out of place in work of that kind. He further kindly suggested to him the idea of utilizing the long, idle winter before him by the study of law, generously offering him the use of his books and office and ample facilities for learning the elementary principles of the legal profession, with such instruction as he could at times give him.

Recovering from the surprise of that benevolent and flattering proposal, that touched a responsive chord in

his self-esteem, young Snyder gratefully accepted it, and at once entered with spirit and determination upon the new career fortuitous circumstances had opened to him. He began immediately close, systematic application to his books; and all winter, until the return of mild weather in the next spring, he made the best use possible of the liberal advantages the Judge had placed at his command. An occasional evening for recreation among the young people of the village—sometimes chosen one of the "Kings" in the dance—was all the time he lost. As an office student he was often very serviceable to his patron by attending to various business matters for him when absent. His habits were unexceptionable, and his courteous deportment and sprightliness won him the respect and esteem of all the community.

Judge Thomas was at that time, next to Governor Edwards, the most prominent and influential man in the Territory. He was a good lawyer, a successful and shrewd financier and able politician, having a peculiar faculty for gaining and retaining the confidence and friendship of people, and converting them to his views. His predilections were all for the south, and he supported all public measures contended for by southern statesmen. Born and nurtured in slave-holding states, and accustomed all his life to the institution of slavery, he firmly believed it to be right in principle and practice, and so maintained on all occasions. But even those who differed from him on that, and other questions, esteemed him highly for the candor and frankness of his contentions, and for his ability, his sincerity and honor. There were few citizens of the Territory so implicitly trusted as was Judge Thomas, and none whose opinions were more respected.

John Reynolds was then a resident of Cahokia, a practicing lawyer, and but recently married. He was twenty-nine years of age, in robust health and in full vigor of body and mind. Energetic and active he had, by association with his cousin, Joseph A. Beaird, a shrewd, competent business man, become quite prosperous. Emerging from the condition of poverty and dependence in which he was reared, his success in accumulating property and gaining some prominence in the community exalted his natural egotism and stimulated the development of that inordinate desire for public position that made him a notable figure in the political history of Illinois. As sergeant of a company of rangers, and a militia judge advocate he had tasted the fascination of office and authority, and that fascination grew with him to be the absorbing passion of his life. With all his strong natural sense and many excellent traits of character John Reynolds was afflicted with mean and jealous envy of those who achieved success in the lines of his own aspirations—a fault by no means uncommon among politicians.

He envied the popularity and high station of Judge Thomas, and consequently disliked him, although they were in perfect unison in regard to slavery and all other public questions. When the constitutional convention was called, Reynolds intimated his willingness to sacrifice his time and business in order to represent St. Clair county as a delegate in that body; but did not receive sufficient encouragement from his "friends" to offer as a candidate for it. Judge Thomas was elected a delegate, was chosen president of the convention, and thus gained the lasting enmity of Reynolds. Until his intimate association with Judge Thomas in Cahokia, Adam W. Snyder, whose life thus far had been a ceaseless

struggle for subsistence, had never given the matter of politics a serious thought. He had formed no opinions, nor reflected at all upon the fabric of our government and its political institutions, and had no acquaintance whatever with any of the public men of the day. His first view of slavery was in Illinois, where he saw it in its least objectionable aspect, as a patriarchal system having few, if any, of the revolting features attending human slavery as it then existed in the southern states. In the office of Judge Thomas he daily heard political questions freely discussed, and became interested in them. The opinions there expressed upon public affairs, especially by Judge Thomas, were new to him, and deeply impressed his receptive mind and expanding ideas.

The high official and social station occupied by Judge Thomas, and the still more eminent position to which he was shortly afterward elevated by the people's representatives in the legislature, were, he thought, a sure criterion not only of his abilities, but also of the correctness of his views. His reliance in the wisdom and matured judgment of his benefactor was unbounded, and the kindness and assistance he had received from him claimed his sincere gratitude. He looked up to Judge Thomas as a prudent adviser and safe mentor, and regarded his achievements as highly worthy of emulation.

Under the circumstances it is not at all surprising that he sanctioned the Judge's political convictions, and adopted them as his own, including the question of African slavery, upon which there was at the time but little difference of opinion among the leading men of the Territory. Nor is it strange that at that period, when no organized political parties existed in Illinois, and voters

at elections divided simply upon their preferences for individual candidates, young Snyder was enlisted in the Thomas faction. Or, that at the election in 1818, for delegates to the convention, though a minor not entitled to vote, he was nevertheless an enthusiastic supporter of Judge Thomas and did all he could to aid his election. John Reynolds did not openly oppose Thomas; but would have rejoiced over his defeat, had that result been possible. He had no kind feeling for him, or those actively promoting his political interests. Consequently, young Snyder, whom he regarded, justly, as a Thomas henchman, fell under the ban of his displeasure, and from that election dates the political antagonism that existed between Reynolds and Snyder continuing, with more or less asperity, throughout life.

Through all the summer and fall of 1818, when Illinois was in the throes of transition from the Territorial to a State form of government, and anxious politicians, speculators and adventurers were scheming and laboring for office, emoluments and profits, Snyder remained at his post in the carding machine, industriously attentive to his work, and to the interests of his employer. To his books he still devoted his leisure hours, but they were very few. From early dawn to evening twilight through each week he was busy with the care of his motive power, and the light, but irksome, duties of managing his factory.

Hon. Jesse B. Thomas, one of the three delegates chosen to represent St. Clair county in the convention to frame a State constitution, was, in its organization at Kaskaskia, on August 3d, 1818, elected to preside over its deliberations. By the first legislature of the new State, in the following October, he was elected, with Gov. Ninian Edwards, to represent Illinois in the United

States Senate, and in casting for their respective periods of service he drew the long or full term. After his election to that high and honorable position, he disposed of his interests in Cahokia and changed his residence to the new town founded by Gov. Edwards and bearing his name, Edwardsville, the county seat of Madison county, and continued to reside there until he left the State in 1829. Upon leaving Cahokia, in December after his election, to enter upon his new duties at Washington City, Senator Thomas placed his unsettled business in St. Clair county in charge of his law student as his agent, and permitted him to retain such books in his library as he needed for present use.

With the close of the season's work, in the late autumn of 1818, Mr. Snyder laid aside his greasy apron and took final leave of the wool carding business. Again he established himself in the office vacated by Judge Thomas, and passed that winter, as he did the one before, in close application to his studies. His agency for Senator Thomas proved a practical and profitable introduction to the business career for which he was striving to fit himself. The elevation of John Reynolds, by the legislature, in December, to the supreme court judgeship, left Cahokia without a practicing lawyer, much to the law student's advantage, as it inducted him, without effort on his part, to practice in the courts of justices of the peace and probate court, proving for him a valuable school of experience.

Shadrach Bond, the first Governor of the State of Illinois, was elected without opposition. The only other instance in the history of Illinois when a Governor was chosen without an opposing candidate, was the re-election of Augustus C. French, in 1848, his office having

been vacated by adoption of the new constitution, thus extending his term to six years.

Shadrach Bond was born in Frederick county, Maryland, in 1773, and came to Illinois with his uncle, Shadrach Bond, Sr., in 1794. He was six feet tall, well formed, dark complected, with dark eyes and jet black hair. He was of jovial disposition, generous and hospitable, talented and honorable. He had represented Illinois in the Indiana Territory legislature, was a delegate to Congress in 1812, and in 1814 was appointed by President Madison receiver at the Kaskaskia land office. He was the most popular man in Illinois at the period of its organization as a State, excepting, perhaps, Gov. Edwards and Judge Thomas.

CHAPTER II.

Introduction of steam power—Removal of the State Capital to Vandalia—Daniel P. Cook and John McLean—Mr. Snyder admitted to the Bar—His marriage—State Bank of Illinois organized—Mr. Snyder appointed State's Attorney—Re-election of Judge Thomas to the U. S. Senate—The Slavery Convention scheme of 1824.

Illinois commenced its existence as a State in a period of financial stringency and "hard times." About the time it was admitted into the Union a general failure of western banks occurred, with the result that their paper currency, which for some time had been the only circulating medium in the Territory, depreciated until it was almost valueless, leaving the country practically without money sufficient for ordinary transaction of business. That was the first experience of the young State with broken banks; but, unfortunately, by no means the last. There followed in consequence a ruinous depreciation in values of all kinds of property, particularly of farm products. Wheat sold for only thirty-five or forty cents per bushel, corn ten cents, hogs were worth but seventy-five cents, or a dollar, per hundred weight, cows with calves five or six dollars each, and horses from twenty to forty dollars.

However, there were soon evidences of a rebound from that state of depression. The immense area of land of extraordinary fertility, containing in its soil elements of untold riches, constituted the reacting force. The low price of land, and its productions, and promising future of the new prairie State, had the effect of largely increasing immigration, that daily poured into it, especially from the southern states. The new-comers relieved the situation of affairs somewhat by bringing into the settlements, with industry and enterprise, more or less sound money and portable property, thus contributing mater-

ially to the general wealth and prosperity of the country. But to the application of steam power in river navigation is due, as much as to any other cause, the marvelous progress and development of Illinois following the change in its form of government. Simultaneously with that change was introduced on the Mississippi the new motive power destined to revolutionize the commercial and economic life of the west—as well as that of the entire world.

Previous to that time western commerce was little more than a system of barter. All goods and supplies not produced in the west were brought from the Atlantic states in wagons, or down the Ohio river and up the Mississippi and from New Orleans, in flat or keel boats, propelled by oars and poles, or towed with ropes by human strength. Those imports purchased by the settlers were paid for with skins and furs of wild animals, beeswax, feathers, and other products of the country. Immigration was then mostly by wagons over roads often rendered impassable by mud and water. The increased facilities for transportation by steamboats not only greatly augmented the influx of population, but opened new and distant markets for agricultural products, thereby enhancing their value.

It was as late as 1827 when the first steamboat—the *Mechanic*—cautiously ascended the Illinois River to Fort Clark on Peoria Lake, and returned in safety to St. Louis. In 1825, or 1826, a steam engine was taken from a wrecked boat in the Ohio and placed in a grist mill at Shawneetown; and, in 1828, Thomas Harrison remodeled his mill at Belleville, substituting a steam engine for the discarded treadwheel and ox power. The experiments of running mills by steam proving successful, that motive power gradually displaced ox and horse mills through-

out the State; though a few horse and water mills survived to later times.

The introduction of steam engines in mills and factories developed a new industry, that of coal mining, and coal was soon discovered to be a new and vast source of wealth, and a factor in the growth and improvement of the State of the first importance.

The act of Congress admitting Illinois into the Union as a State was passed on the 3d of December, 1818. In anticipation of that action, and to perfect the machinery of the new State government, an election was held, on the 17th, 18th and 19th of September, for a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, members of the general assembly, and a representative in the lower house of Congress to serve during the short, or second, session of the fifteenth Congress that expired on the 3d of March following. For the latter place but two candidates offered at that election, John McLean and Daniel P. Cook, both intellectual giants and lawyers of superior, well-matched ability and extraordinary eloquence. McLean, tall, large and of majestic stature, was born in North Carolina in 1791. Cook, small, thin and pale, was a native of Kentucky, born in 1794. McLean resided in Shawneetown, Cook in Kaskaskia. Their contest was short but spirited, resulting in McLean's success by the slender majority of 14 votes. But he won, with the office, the distinction of being the first representative of the *State* of Illinois in Congress.

At the first session of the State legislature—which was also the last held in Kaskaskia—a bill was passed early in 1819 providing for removal of the State capital from Kaskaskia to Vandalia. There was no demand for that change at that time by the people, or by any public exigency. It was premature and unnecessary, and was

concocted and consummated by a lot of speculators who expected to reap large profits in building up the new capital at Reeves' Bluff, about eighty miles farther up the Kaskaskia river.* Approval of that legislative measure by Governor Shadrach Bond and his Council of Revision sealed the doom of Kaskaskia. Robbed of the State capital it lost its prestige and importance and was consigned to rapid decline and decay.

The romantic story of the old town will always possess for American historians a fascinating charm and interest. Beginning as an Indian mission, in the midst of a vast and unknown wilderness, two and a third centuries ago, it for many years was a busy metropolis of the French empire in America; then wrested from France by the English in 1763, it was subsequently delivered from British dominion and restored to liberty by Col. Clark, who added it to the new-born republic, and in 1809 it became the Territorial capital of Illinois. For a century and a quarter it was the most noted town in the Mississippi valley, and its commercial emporium. It was made the capital of a sovereign State of the Union in 1818, only to be hastily abandoned and humiliated at the behest of unscrupulous schemers, and, finally, in ruins and forgotten, it was swept away by the relentless current of the great river heedless of its past renown.

But few vestiges of old Kaskaskia remain. It is gone, but the spot where it stood, with the site of Fort Chartres near by, is—to the historian—hallowed ground, consecrated by memories of its storied glory and vicissitudes.

* The State archives were removed from Kaskaskia to Vandalia in a small wagon in December, 1820, in charge of Sidney Breese, who was then chief clerk in the Secretary of State's office. The cost of removal was $25, and time consumed nearly a week, as a road had to be opened in places by cutting a way through the woods and brush.

The bill authorizing admission of Illinois into the Union passed the lower house of congress December 3, 1818, by 117 votes for and 34 against it. The chief objection of those voting in the negative was that the constitution of the proposed State did not prohibit slavery with sufficient positiveness.

Illinois had but obtained Congressional sanction for Statehood, when the application of Missouri Territory for admission as a slave state fanned into a blaze of excitement throughout the country the semi-dormant slavery question. The turmoil of discussion and heated controversy that followed Missouri's action, in and out of Congress, profoundly impressed the politics and politicians of Illinois, and exerted a perturbing influence in some of its elections. It was necessary in 1819 to elect another Congressman to succeed John McLean, whose term expired on the 3d of March. Cook and McLean were again candidates for the place. Having no political issues or parties to rally to, the people divided into factions, led by one or more prominent favorites, who competed with each other simply for the offices.

Daniel P. Cook was not an Abolitionist. The charge that he was would have been bitterly resented by him. No public man in Illinois at that day dared admit that he favored the abolition of slavery. Cook was opposed to disturbing the institution of slavery where it existed, and also opposed to its introduction in states or territories where it did not exist. McLean advocated the doctrine of the constitutional right of states and territories to regulate their domestic institutions as they saw proper. Cook was the candidate of the Gov. Edwards faction; McLean that of the partisans of Gov. Bond and Senator Thomas.

Adam W. Snyder, that summer but nineteen years of age, was busily employed at wool carding, giving such attention to his studies as the exacting duties of his work permitted. He, no doubt, desired the election of McLean, and would have voted for him had he had the right of suffrage; but his interest in the elections extended no farther than to favor and aid, if possible, the success of friends who were supporters of Judge Thomas. No ambition for public life—or knowledge of it—then troubled him; and not for several years later did he become haunted by the *ignis fatuus* of political aspirations. Intent only upon qualifying himself for the legal profession, he applied himself so assiduously and exclusively to the means for attaining that end that he had neither time nor inclination to take an active part in the campaign. Yet, he was so constituted that it was with great difficulty he could ever maintain a neutral position upon any subject admitting differences of opinions, and when required to express his views he stated them frankly and without hesitation. He favored the election of McLean, and said so; but was not a voter or a politician, and did not presume to attempt influencing the views of others. However, his intelligent grasp of public questions and estimate of public men, together with his manly deportment and unreserved, social disposition gave his opinions some weight in that community. For the native inhabitants of Cahokia and the American Bottom, though uneducated, appreciated his worth and integrity of character, and, that early, gave him their confidence and friendship, which he retained through life.

In the chaotic condition of politics for several years after Illinois was admitted into the Union, before voters learned to range themselves in parties, they were divided

into factions, and advocated "men, not measures." Nevertheless, the question of slavery influenced many in their preference for, or opposition to, men who sought office. There was no discussion of slavery upon its merits *per se;* its extension in Illinois, and in the territories, was the only phase of the institution considered, and presented the only semblance of an issue at elections.

John Reynolds was then a justice of the supreme court of the State. A proper appreciation of the independence and dignity of that honorable station, and a decent sense of self-respect should have restrained him from participating in the contentions of factions. The tenure of his judgeship, however, was limited to six years, and already he was planning to secure another office at the expiration of his term, or before, if anything came in his reach better suited to his order of talents than the judiciary. He was radically pro slavery, but pandered to Gov. Edwards and his prospective son-in-law, Judge Cook, the freesoiler, not because of any harmony of principles, or from any personal affection for either; for he disliked them both as cordially as he did Bond, McLean or Thomas. But Gov. Edwards, he thought, was politically invincible, and wielded power that possibly could, in time, be made serviceable to himself, while the overthrow of McLean and Thomas, he imagined, would remove formidable obstacles from the path of his own future aspirations. Besides that selfish consideration, he could not resist the constant propensity, ingrained in his nature, to meddle in all popular or political affairs, though himself not directly interested in their issue. In that Congressional contest there was no occasion whatever that he, a supreme court judge, should be an active partisan of either candidate; but to

win the favor of Gov. Edwards, he wrote to him as follows:

"GOSHEN, 19 July, 1819.

"DEAR SIR:

"I have returned from Greene county, and found matters and things right there. Cook, with the exception of Lofton's settlement, will get all the votes. I think he will get three-fourths of the county. McLean has turned Cummins. Cadwell, I understand, is for Cook. My brother Thomas states that Maxwell, James Morrison, old Robert and their dependents are working against Cook. Phillips is the cause of this. My brother says that Browne, on the Ohio, was McLean's friend, and the people there is considerably for McLean. I thought it would not be amiss to inform you of the above.

"Jones, you see, is out. I promised him your support, as you said. Now allow me to request you to start Stephenson in the chase. Winchester promised me; so did some in the old town. Judy and all my friends are on the charge for Jones. Do not forget to impress Hays with the necessity of staying in Cahokia at the election. Snyder will try to turn the French for McLean. This must not be neglected.

"Col. John W. Scott's brother, Alexander, wants to get the mail to carry from Edwardsville to Carrollton. I promised to mention the thing to you. If there is no applicant or bidder he could do the business.

"I am your friend,

"JOHN REYNOLDS.*

"HON. NINIAN EDWARDS, Edwardsville."

Senator Edwards was then at the zenith of his popularity. His great intellectual ability, and national reputation for statesmanship of a high order, placed him so prominently before the people of the whole country that public rumor at Washington City assigned him a position—that of Secretary of War—in President Monroe's second cabinet. In the political affairs of Illinois his authority was supreme. Servile office seekers were

* Edwards Papers, Fergus Co., Chicago, 1884, p. 163.

proud of the privilege to address him as "your friend," and willingly obeyed his mandates.

The foregoing truckling letter was eminently characteristic of Reynolds. Its object was not only to curry favor of Senator Edwards by impressing upon him his personal loyalty and the value of his political services, but, at the same time, to prejudice the Senator against his (Reynolds') colleagues on the supreme bench, Justices Phillips and Browne, also against Snyder. The fear he expressed that "Snyder will try to turn the French for McLean," whether sincere or not, was certainly very complimentary to that young man.

Agitation of the slavery question disturbed the French inhabitants of Illinois but little. They were divided on that question, a limited number of them owning slaves desired slavery to be made permanent in the State; but the non-slaveholding, and more numerous, class, while willing to tolerate the qualified institution as it then existed in Illinois, favored its gradual extinction, and opposed giving it wider scope by the introduction of more slaves.

At the Congressional election, in August, 1819, Mr. Cook's majority over McLean was 633; and that result was a fair index of popular sentiment in Illinois at the time of the slavery issue, indirectly presented. The fact that slavery was specifically excluded from the Northwestern Territory—including Illinois—by the ordinance of 1787, was a weighty consideration among the inducements that brought to the prairies of Illinois the greater number of its new settlers, while the knowledge that Missouri Territory, included in the Territory of Louisiana in which slavery was already recognized before its acquisition by the United States, and would probably be retained by Missouri when admitted as a state, induced

a large preponderance of pro-slavery emigrants from the south to shun Illinois and seek homes west of the Mississippi River.

The year 1820 was memorable in the personal history of Adam W. Snyder. In February of that year he was admitted to the bar, though not yet of the statutory age entitling him to the right of suffrage, and he commenced at once, in a modest way, the practice of law in Cahokia. As the only practicing lawyer in the old town, he monopolized the legal business there; but it was, for all that, not very remunerative, as litigation was confined to probate adjustments and petty cases of breaches of the peace. All the practice in the courts of St. Clair county then, with occasional exceptions, would not have rapidly enriched two opposing lawyers, or severely taxed their time. Then, too, the litigants, as a rule, were poor and unable to pay attorneys more than nominal fees; and at that, payments were made in depreciated paper currency or country produce. However, the lawyer with business tact and some capital, or credit, could enlarge his income by dealing in real estate, as buying lands and land claims, and selling them to incoming settlers at advanced prices, was then, and for many years later, a profitable traffic if shrewdly conducted.

One of Attorney Snyder's first clients, after his admission to the bar, was the widow Pensoneau, of Prairie du Pont, a hamlet a mile south of Cahokia, whose husband had recently died. That lady, then forty-three years of age, had been twice married. Her maiden name was Adelaide Saucier, and she was the daughter of Captain John Baptiste Saucier, an officer of the engineer corps of the French army, who designed the plans and superintended the construction of Fort Chartres in 1751-1763.

She was a native of Cahokia and was married, in 1797, to Jean Francois Perry, a young Frenchman of wealth and education, who migrated to America from his birth place near the city of Lyons, in France, and who died at his home, in Prairie du Pont, in 1812.* At his death Mr. Perry left,with his widow and three daughters, a large landed estate. In 1815 Mrs. Perry married Augustine Pensoneau, a Canadian Frenchman, and was again left a widow by his death in the fall of 1819, with two additional children. The eldest of the Perry girls, Louise, had married and died; the other two, Adelaide and Harriet, were quite handsome and sprightly, with faultless figures, and ranked with the most attractive belles in the parish.

Pensoneau left no property at his death; but the Perry estate required the services of an attorney for its management. That business seemed to have demanded the frequent presence of lawyer Snyder at the Perry homestead. Before the summer was passed his visits there recurred so often that observant gossips concluded he was probably more interested in the elder of the two daughters than in any legal proceedings he may have been conducting for Madam Pensoneau in either the probate court, of that of Judge Reynolds.

The population of Illinois had increased from 34,620 in 1818, to 55,162 in 1820. At the general election in August, 1820, Daniel P. Cook was again a candidate for Congress, and was opposed by Elias Kent Kane, whom he defeated by the surprising majority of 2,482 in a total of less than 8,000 votes, Mr. Kane carrying but one county in the State. In that campaign there appeared no intimation from any quarter that Mr. Snyder would "try to turn the French" for Mr. Kane. He was too fully

* See Appendix, Note B.

occupied with his own affairs to meddle with those in which he had no direct personal interest.

His profession, in which he was but a novice, claimed his attention and time, and an engagement of a tender nature he had contracted occupied his thoughts to a far greater degree than the outcome of any election.

The happy culmination of that engagement was his union in marriage to Miss Adelaide Perry, at Prairie du Pont, on the 18th of October, 1820. At the date of that important event his age was twenty-one years and twelve days; and that of his bride seventeen years, eight months and twenty-five days. They were a young and handsome pair, representative types of different races, contrasting widely in temperament, disposition and mental characteristics. His blueish-gray eyes and fair complexion clearly marked his Saxon descent. She was a brunette with glossy black hair, dark eyes and dark complected; five feet, six inches in stature, perfectly formed, erect and active, and possessing the mercurial traits of her Latin ancestry.

Bridal trips for whiling away the honeymoon were then unknown that far west; so, they immediately established their home in Cahokia, and commenced together the serious mission of life.

The second general assembly—the first to meet in Vandalia—elected in August, 1820, convened at the new state capital on the 4th of December, comprising fourteen senators and twenty-nine representatives. John McLean, who was elected to represent Gallatin county in the lower house, was, upon its organization, chosen its Speaker.

The chief act of the second general assembly was the establishment of a State bank at Vandalia, with branches at Shawneetown, Edwardsville and Browns-

ville, founded wholly on credit, without a dollar of capital. It was authorized to issue notes of different denominations bearing two per cent interest redeemable by the State in ten years, and was empowered to loan these notes to the people on personal security to the amount of $100,000, and to a greater amount on real estate mortgages. A strong minority, led by John McLean, ably opposed that pernicious folly. The rules of the house then precluded the Speaker from participating in debates excepting when in committee of the whole. Fearing McLean's influence the majority refused to refer the bill to a committe of the whole, whereupon he resigned the Speakership and taking the floor, in a speech of wondrous eloquence and force, denounced the measure as unconstitutional and wrong in principle, and pointing out its many fatal defects, predicted the failure of the system if enacted. Under the leadership of Hon. Richard M. Young the bill passed and was promptly vetoed by the Council of Revision, and again passed by a constitutional majority of both houses.

So elated was the bank party in the legislature with their success they passed a resolution instructing the Illinois senators and representatives in Congress to endeavor to secure an act of Congress authorizing the land offices in Illinois to receive the notes of the State bank in payment for land entries. It was when that resolution was submitted to a vote of the Senate and carried, Pierre Menard, Lieutenant Governor, presiding, remarked: "Gentlemen of the Senate, de resolution is carried; but I will bet a hundred dollar dat Congra never make him land office money."

The relief afforded the people by enactments of the second general assembly was—as predicted by Mr. McLean—but temporary, and the unwise measure soon re-

acted with disastrous effect. The State bank and its branches commenced business in the summer of 1821, and in a short time had loaned to the people its notes to the amount of $300,000 without much regard as to the security taken. Not long after, the paper money—for that is all it was—began to depreciate. It fell twenty-five cents below par, then fifty cents, then seventy-five cents. All specie had long ago been driven out of the country, and in the absence of small coins the bank bills were cut in two, or more, pieces to make change. Taking refuge behind the stay laws (passed by the same legislature), but few made the least effort to pay their debts, and the majority of those who borrowed from the bank did so with the deliberate intention of never repaying it. There is always, in all communities, a large class of people commendably honest in their ordinary dealings and business transactions, who have no scruples whatever in swindling the government or State, or town in which they live; and regard defrauding corporations as legitimate, and evidence of superior financial skill. The patrons of the State bank were largely of that class.

In 1822, Mr. Snyder received, without solicitation on his part, the appointment of Prosecuting Attorney for the first judicial district. He served in that capacity for one year and then resigned it for the reason that in criminal practice he much preferred the defense of offenders against the laws than their prosecution—because the former paid best.

Popular feeling and interest were much enlisted in the campaign preceding the general election of 1822, as the question of slavery was then more directely in issue than at any previous election. Edward Coles was then elected Governor (to succeed Shadrach Bond) over three competitors, namely, Joseph Phillips and Thomas C. Browne,

justices of the supreme court, and Capt. James B. Moore, who had served with distinction in the war of 1812, and was a noted Indian fighter. Gov. Coles received 2,854 votes, Phillips, 2,687, Browne, 2,443, and Capt. Moore, 622. Coles, though a Virginian, was an Abolitionist. Judges Phillips and Browne were pro-slavery in sentiment, and Capt. Moore was opposed to slavery in Illinois, but not regarded as an Abolitionist.

Coles was therefore a minority Governor, as the united votes of the pro-slavery element in the State would have overwhelmingly defeated him.

Gov. Coles was intensely distasteful to the older pioneers of southern birth who believed Abolitionism to be the unpardonable sin; and they loathed him as a renegade from the faith accepted as orthodox in his native state and the south. Having come to Illinois only three years before with the federal appointment of register of the land office at Edwardsville, they looked upon him contemptuously as a carpetbagger and adventurer, as Gov. Moses was regarded by the old patricians of South Carolina in the "reconstruction" era. During his residence of twelve years in Illinois he did not succeed in overcoming that popular prejudice entertained by a large class of citizens, and was never recognized as an Illinoisan.

He met with stormy opposition all through his administration, manifested in many instances by personal enmity and social ostracism, and vindictiveness carried so far as the wanton destruction of his property. On his way to Illinois from his Virginia home, in 1819, he dramatically emancipated his twenty-six slaves on their flat boat when descending the Ohio River. Arriving with them at Edwardsville he settled them on farms in Madi-

son county, giving to each head of a family a quarter section of land. That was the head and front of his offending. He wielded all his personal and official influence, and donated his entire salary for four years, to save Illinois from the blighting curse of human slavery attempted to be fastened on the State during the first half of his administration. Yet, he attracted no personal following, and was not known as a *leader* in the memorable free soil movement for which he made so many sacrifices and did such efficient service in successfully establishing.

Edward Coles had received a finished education, and was a gentleman of polished manners and irreproachable character. For six years he had been in close personal relations with President Madison, as his private secretary, and was sent by the President on a delicate diplomatic mission to Russia which he conducted in a highly satisfactory manner. On his return he visited Kaskaskia in 1818, and the next year decided to remove to Illinois. In 1830 he ran for Congress, as an anti-Jackson candidate, against Joseph Duncan and Sidney Breese, both Jackson men. Duncan was elected by a very large majority, Gov. Coles receiving but meagre support. After that humiliating defeat he left Illinois and located in Philadelphia, Pa., where, on the 28th of November, 1833, he married Miss Sally Roberts; and there died on the 7th of July, 1868. Coles county, in Illinois, was properly and very fittingly so named in his honor when organized on the 25th of December, 1830.

Daniel P. Cook and John McLean were again, for the third time, opposing candidates for Congress in 1822, and Cook was again successful, receiving 4,764 votes, to 3,811 for McLean.

The third general assembly met at Vandalia on the 2d of December, 1822, with the recently elected Lieutenant Governor, Adolphus Frederick Hubbard, in the chair of the Senate, and William M. Alexander chosen Speaker of the house.

Justice John Reynolds was there also "in the hands of his friends" as a candidate for United States Senator in opposition to Senator Jesse B. Thomas. Six days later, Dec. 8th, Judge Reynolds wrote to Senator Ninian Edwards, then in Washington City, as follows:

"My Friend: We are now in a turmoil concerning the senatorial election. Judge Thomas has his friends from all parts urging his pretentions—Kitchell, McLean, Bond, Kane, etc., are his night supporters. I think without boasting that we will succeed. The election will be delayed, I think, until spring. I can keep it off in the senate. Now, on this plan, I want you to co-operate in hastening the appointment of the land officers, so that our fellow citizens may not many of them be deceived. The disappointed people will *kick up*. Kinney wants the contract; he is alive on his head. White, you know his situation. This is a delicate matter, treat it as you please. Some members want Lockwood to offer. If we are all reconciled, Thomas goes out. Judge Pope is among us. I have powerful friends here in and out of the Legislature. I must succeed if the election be delayed. I want to harmonize with Lockwood and his friends. I have told them to run the strongest man. I want you for the good of the cause to urge, by all means, the filling of the offices. This I can handle to advantage. Please show this to Judge Cook. Your family was well the other day. I am now anxious to beat.

"Your friend,

"John Reynolds."*

The explanation of his reference to the land offices, and his urgent desire that Senator Edwards—who he imagined President Monroe favored more than he did Senator Thomas—would cause the appointments to be

* Edwards Papers, pp. 203-204.

made at once, and his plan to have the Senatorial election in the legislature delayed until after these appointments were made, is quite apparent. The two Illinois Senators were leaders of opposing factions at home, and not in harmony in the matter of patronage for their State. Reynolds knew that each had recommended for appointment to those offices his own factional friends and adherents, several of whom were then members of the legislature, or very influential lobbyists there. If then, he could succeed in postponing the senatorial election until the Edwards henchmen secured the federal offices the disappointed Thomas applicants would "kick up" and in retaliation turn to *his* support.

Judge Thomas remained at his post in Washington, but his interests at Vandalia were in the care of active men who well understood Reynolds, and out-generaled him at every point. Ex-Gov. Bond, and other Thomas men, were appointed to the land offices, the senatorial election was not deferred to a future time to suit Judge Reynolds, but, by joint resolution, was held on the 9th of January, 1823, resulting in the re-election of Judge Thomas, who received 29 votes to 16 for Reynolds, 6 for White and 2 for Lockwood, a majority of 5 for Thomas over all.

Senator Edwards no doubt desired the defeat of Thomas, but not by Reynolds, whose aspirations to the Senate he regarded as ludicrous.

At the opening of the third general assembly, Dec. 2d, 1822, Gov. Coles delivered his message orally, recommending establishing common schools, and the great importance of connecting the Illinois river and Lake Michigan by canal, a suggestion reiterated in the message of every succeeding Governor, and discussed by all poli-

ticians and every legislature for the next quarter of a century. He then broached the burning question of the day, deploring the fact that slavery still existed in Illinois, notwithstanding its special prohibition by the ordinance of 1787, and earnestly advised the legislature to abolish it. Thus, at the beginning, Gov. Coles boldly threw down the gauntlet in defiance of the large majority in the legislature who, he knew, were hostile to him and who thought the State disgraced by the foisting of a Virginia Abolitionist in the executive chair by a contemptible minority.

The reference to slavery in his message was referred to a special committee whose majority reported a resolution for calling a convention to remedy certain alleged defects in the State constitution; but in reality to change it so as to make Illinois a slave state. That resolution was carried by the required two-thirds vote, by ousting a member who was opposed to it, but had voted for Senator Thomas, and seating, in his place, a contestant who would have voted against Senator Thomas, but favored the convention. The convention scheme thus adopted was yet to be submitted to the people at the next general election two years hence.

The Governor's recommendations to the solons relative to the canal met with little more favor than did his advice to extinguish slavery. A bill offered in the Senate proposing a survey of the canal route was opposed by several members from the southern counties, who looked upon the canal as purely a local enterprise not calculated to benefit their section of the state. Senator Kinney, of St. Clair county, was against the bill, because the waterway to the lakes if completed "would be the means of letting into the State a lot of blue-bellied Yankees,"

and to defeat it moved to amend the bill by making an appropriation to drain certain lakes in the American Bottom alleged to be the source of unhealthiness to the people. Other members from the southern counties loaded the bill down with amendments to drain every considerable pond in southern Illinois, until finally an amendment was incorporated appropriating several thousand dollars to drain Lake Michigan, which proved fatal to further consideration of the canal at that session.

Mr. Snyder did not particularly interest himself in the convention question that convulsed the legislature after the senatorial election. Nor did he permit himself to be drawn into the whirlpool of furious commotion that followed to keep the public in an ebullition of frenzied excitement for the first half of Gov. Coles' administration. More enthusiastic in his profession than in politics he found more pleasant and profitable occupation by attending the courts in the several counties of his district, extending his acquaintance among the people, and gaining experience and learning by contact with the best lawyers of Illinois and Missouri. There are no means now for ascertaining how he voted upon the convention question at the election on the 2d of August, 1824; but it is a reasonable presumption that he cast his vote for the convention, following the leadership of his friend, Senator Thomas.

As before stated, a decided majority of the people of Illinois at that time were opposed to perpetuating the curse of slavery in the State. The convention scheme had not been concocted prior to the election of the legislature in 1822; or, if then projected by the leading slavery propagandists, the fact was not made public.

Consequently many of the representatives in the general assembly who supported the convention resolution, not elected upon that issue, but by reason of their personal merits and popularity, did not, in that action, correctly represent their constituents. When directly confronted with the question, the people, understanding clearly the intent and purpose of the proposed convention, emphatically repudiated it by casting, at the polls in 1824, 6,640 votes against its adoption to 4,972 in its favor. The intense interest felt by the people in the question involved in that election is evidenced by the extraordinary number of votes cast, 11,612. At the presidential election three months later there were polled in the entire State but 4,707 votes. Of that number John Quincy Adams received 1,541; Andrew Jackson, 1,273; Henry Clay, 1,047, and William H. Crawford, 218.

Daniel P. Cook was again elected to Congress at the August election, defeating ex-Gov. Bond by the majority of 3,086. In St. Clair county, at the same election, Judge John Reynolds and Risdon Moore, Jr., convention men, were defeated for the lower house of the legislature, and also William Kinney for re-election to the Senate, by anti-convention men. In that county three anti-convention representatives were elected to the lower house of the legislature, by the following vote:

Risdon Moore 534*	Risdon Moore, Jr. 447
David Blackwell 519	John Reynolds 438
Abram Eyman 525	John Scott 430
	John Hays 10

* Risdon Moore who was elected was anti-slavery and the cousin of Risdon Moore, Jr., defeated, and pro-slavery.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Snyder embarks in farming—Life on the farm—Anecdote—The Sugar Loaf Settlement—Visit of General de LaFayette—Rise of the Jackson party—Election of Gov. Edwards and defeat of Daniel P. Cook—The fifth General Assembly.

A few years of diligent effort and assiduous attention to his profession convinced Mr. Snyder that, there and then, the accumulation of wealth by practice of law alone was, if not utterly hopeless, at least very unpromising. He saw in Cahokia no other branch of business or industry he could engage in, combined with his law practice, that would materially increase his revenue, and he had not yet come to look upon politics as the only sure avenue to riches and distinction. On mature deliberation he concluded to leave the village and embark in farming. He had acquired a tract of fine land lying five miles south of Cahokia, and resolutely commenced there preparations for establishing a new home and a new occupation. His land was partly open prairie on the American Bottom, a mile west of the high abrupt point of the bluffs, locally known as the "Sugar Loaf," near the dividing line between the counties of St. Clair and Monroe.

That noted landmark derived its name from a conical Indian mound on the high peak of the rocky bluff, erected there presumably as a signal station by prehistoric aborigines. The American Bottom comprises the level alluvial district between the Mississippi river and its eastern range of bluffs, extending from Alton to Chester, eighty miles in length, and varying from four to seven miles in width. Its soil, of unknown depth, is unsurpassed for fertility by that of any region of equal extent

on earth, and is percolated beneath by perfectly pure water in inexhaustible quantity.

The first settlement of the white—or intrusive—race in Illinois having been made upon that plain by the French, it should, in justice, have received the name of the "French Bottom."

In 1782, the Moores, Piggotts, Rutherfords, Lunsfords, Garrisons, Bonds, and a few other "Americans," who had served as soldiers in Col. George Rogers Clark's little army, came into it and with their families settled near the foot of the bluffs in sight of the Sugar Loaf.* They were styled Americans, by the French, in contradistinction to their recent rulers, the English, and the particular locality of their settlement was known to the natives as the American's Bottom. That name was extended with the gradual expansion of American settlements there until it included the entire Bottom.

Another race of people had long possessed that region prior to the intrusion of either French or Americans, and having vanished, in times past were replaced by their degenerate descendants, or roving kinsmen, whom the Canadians found there on their arrival. The occupancy of that territory by prehistoric Indians for a great length of time is well attested by the presence of numerous earthen monuments, or mounds, and many imperishable remains of their arts. Mound building was practiced there in highest perfection; and, in numbers and dimensions, the mounds of the American Bottom are not exceeded by those in any equal area in the Mississippi Valley. At the northern end of the Bottom stands the majestic Cahokia mound on the south bank of Cahokia creek, the largest artificial elevation of the kind in the

* Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 113.

United States. In form it is a truncated pyramid 97 feet in height, with a level summit three acres in extent. Its base is 700 feet in length by 500 feet in width, and it is calculated to comprise 1,076,000 cubic yards of earth, much of which was brought from the bluffs three miles distant. From the top of that stupendous temple mound, in pioneer days, before the virgin soil of the Bottom was defiled by railroad grading and levee building, 61 other mounds were in the range of vision, varying in magnitude from 100 to 400 feet in diameter at the ground level, and in altitude from 15 to 60 feet. Some of them were also pyramidal in form, but the greater number were circular, oval or oblong. Mounds of the same character are scattered, here and there, down the entire extent of the Bottom to the Kaskaskia river.

When the "Americans" began to settle in the Bottom they occasionally found those ancient tumuli of their by-gone predecessors convenient elevations upon which to place their farm residences, and so utilized them.* And that Mr. Snyder also did. On his land was situated one of the many large Indian burial mounds of the Bottom, about 30 feet in height, and square base 200 feet on each side, exactly where he desired to build his house. On the south shide of that venerable old tomb he caused an excavation to be made sufficiently wide and deep for the cellar and basement story of his building. The house was so planned that the floor of the upper story was a foot or two above the mound's level summit, on which the front door—protected by a spacious veranda—opened to the north, looking upon a broad view of the Bottom skirted on the east by the picturesque line of bluffs and on the west by the rocky

* Reynolds' Pioneer History of Illinois, p. 115.

cliffs of Missouri, with occasional glimpses of the Mississippi at their base. Little, or nothing, was known of American archaeology when that great earthen sepulchre was ruthlessly desecrated by vandals of an advanced race, exposing the decayed human skeletons, over which it was erected, associated with stone implements, and other art remains, deposited there in the unknown past, with superstitious veneration, by a rude, primitive people whose only history is thus recorded. The crumbling bones of their dead, with shell and bone ornaments, finely wrought objects in stone and copper, and elegant pottery vases—tokens of respect and affection—laid there with devotional reverence to remain in undisturbed security for all time, excited but momentary curiosity among the laborers and by-standers, and were thrown aside as so much worthless rubbish.

Though the soil of the American Bottom is loose sandy loam, its preparation for cultivation required much persistent labor. A great deal of the preliminary work necessary to convert the wild prairie and wood lands into a fit habitation for man was done in the summer and fall of 1824. The bricks for construction of the dwelling were molded and burned near the big spring at the foot of Sugar Loaf bluff, wells were dug and walled up with stone, and building materials were brought together near the large mound. Before the year closed the brick walls of the house were up and covered with a substantial roof of cedar shingles; a barn and other outhouses were built; rails were made in the timber near by; patches of crab apple, persimmon and hazel thickets were cleared off, and the ground made ready for the plow. Rail making continued through

the winter months and some of the fencing was put in place.

In the spring of 1825 the house was finished, and is still standing (1902) in good state of preservation, but little changed in external appearance since it was abandoned by its builder in 1833.* In the early summer following Mr. Snyder brought his household from Cahokia to the farm and began the labors of a practical agriculturist. Himself, wife and her half-brother, Augustine Pensoneau, a child scarcely six years old, constituted his family. His two children born in Cahokia had died there in early infancy. To some of his energetic neighbors he gave employment in "breaking" his land with their large plows drawn by several yokes of oxen, at a stipulated price per acre. To cultivate the land after it was plowed and raise crops he depended upon hired hands, readily obtained, but not invariably reliable. The progress of society in the west had not yet evolved the hired girl. In the democracy of Illinois all white persons were supposed to have been born free and equal and occupying the same social plane. There was no surplus of female labor in the country, and then—as now—the servants' station was not coveted by the native white girl.

To surmount the difficulties presented by the labor problem, and relieve his wife of the unavoidable drudgery of rural housekeeping, Mr. Snyder became a slaveholder. At an executor's sale he purchased a middle-aged negro man and wife, and from other parties a negro lad twelve years of age, and subsequently a mulatto girl a few years younger whose sister was owned by Judge

* Mr. Snyder named his place "Square Mound," as appears from the heading of his letters written from there during his residence on the farm.

John Reynolds. The boy and girl were not related to each other or to the man and wife. They were all four French slaves and natives of Cahokia, or its immediate vicinity. In less than two years after the human chattels were acquired the negro man, Jeanot, died; the other three remained with the family until every vestige of State sanction of slavery was removed, in 1847.

Mr. Snyder gave to his farm all the attention he could without neglecting his law business. In intervals between terms of court he sometimes "made a hand" himself, assisting in fence making, hauling rails and wood, setting out fruit trees, or following the cradlers in the harvest field as a binder.

In one of those industrious moods, one autumn day in 1827, he was going to the woods a short distance from the house after fence posts, with a wagon drawn by a pair of oxen. In the empty wagon bed he had placed his (then) only child, a boy two years old—known in later years as Judge William H. Snyder—who often accompanied him in his walks, or work, about the farm. He was himself walking leisurely a short distance behind the wagon, when suddenly the oxen, frightened by some unusual object or sound, started off in a brisk run. That terrified the child, who began screaming to his father to come to his relief. Mr. Snyder seeing the boy's imminent danger of being thrown headlong from the jostling wagon, set out at full speed to rescue him from his perilous situation, calling to the oxen at every step to stop; but they increased their gait instead. Although but ten or a dozen feet behind the wagon, by his utmost exertion he could not get a foot nearer to it. Running at his best he remained just out of reach of the imperiled boy who still yelled to him for help. The exasperating race—as

ludicrous as that of John Gilpin's—continued until Mr. Snyder was on the verge of exhaustion, when fortunately a neighbor coming that way intercepted the "steers" and succeeded in checking their mad flight. Mr. Snyder, when relating that incident, always declared that the provoking beasts escaped death at his hands, then and there, simply because he had no means at hand for despatching them.

His change of residence from the village to the country had the effect of increasing rather than diminishing the demands for his professional services, until his many and various business engagements occupied his entire attention, and compelled him to relinquish all personal supervision of the farm. During the eight years he remained there he prospered financially, and was regarded as one of the most prominent citizens in the county. His business became more lucrative, and the surplus products of his land found ready and profitable markets at St. Louis and Jefferson Barracks, the military post three miles west of his place. He enjoyed unbounded popularity among the people, and was often urged to offer as a candidate for office, but declined to embark in politics then, as he desired first to establish himself creditably in the profession of law, and also in the acquisition of worldly goods.

A weighty consideration inducing him to locate upon that particular farm was the character of its social surroundings. That part of the Bottom and adjacent highlands comprised in the radius of a few miles from the Sugar Loaf as a center, was settled by an intelligent and substantial class of people, before named, who immigrated to Illinois from Georgia, Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, bringing with them the best stocks of

domestic animals, and most improved methods of farming then known. One of their number, Mr. Jonathan Moore, taught school for a while in one room of his double log house near the big spring on his Sugar Loaf farm; and they introduced other accessories of civilization, and were all opposed to the extension of slavery. Having himself some advanced ideas and enlightened views, Mr. Snyder met there genial associates and incentives for self-improvement that were absent in Cahokia. It was, he correctly judged, to his advantage and that of his family, to be situated among progressive people of his own race, at the same time not depriving his wife of the companionship of her people.

But, notwithstanding the combined favorable conditions of intelligent neighbors, soil of exhaustless fertility, pure water and proximity to school and markets, rural life there had some very unpleasant features and serious drawbacks. Located on the main road from Kaskaskia and Waterloo to St. Louis, his house was much of the time a free tavern for travelers, tramps and politicians who made it convenient to stop there, certain of hospitable entertainment gratis. With such wayfarers, social callers, and visiting friends and relatives, the place was seldom without guests, and generally overrun with them. When Mr. Snyder was at home he enjoyed making his promiscuous company comfortable and trying to enhance the pleasure of their visit; but his business affairs called him away more and more as time passed, leaving the farm to be conducted in his absence by hired employes, and guests to be entertained by his wife, to whom the situation was frequently irksome, if not intolerable.

The management of the household and control of in-

dolent, negligent servants, with care of young children, and intrusion of uninvited and undesirable strangers in her home, at times sorely tried her patience and fortitude. The most annoying tramps of those days in that locality were discharged and furloughed soldiers and deserters from Jefferson Barracks, who ranged through the country settlements begging, or stealing food and portable articles that could readily be bartered at the village groceries for whiskey.

Worse than all those annoyances, however, in the mild seasons the low alluvial Bottom was reeking with miasmatic exhalations arising from the numerous swamps, sloughs and lakes, stagnant and foul with decayed vegetation, poisoning the atmosphere, and exceedingly detrimental to health of the inhabitants. Moreover, it was infested from early spring until the next winter with swarms of mosquitoes and other noxious insects that rendered life of both man and beast a continuous misery.

In the autumn months but few of the population of the Bottom escaped attacks of intermittent, or remittent, fevers, and often almost every member of a family and of the entire settlement was prostrated by them at the same time, so as to be unable to give one another necessary assistance. At such times the few physicians in the country were—as a choice of evils—in active demand. With all the boasted improvements and discoveries in the practice of medicine at the present time, it is still, at best, but a system of empiricism: then—three-quarters of a century ago—the treatment of diseases by blood-letting, blistering, emetics, calomel and jalap, etc., was simply well-meant barbarity rendering it possible for only the fittest to survive.

The cold of winter brought respite from those evils,

and also cessation of general outdoor labor. Among the Creoles it was the season for recreation and social enjoyment. Then, parties of friends, both young and old, came to the farm informally, from Cahokia and vicinity to pass the day or long evenings in customary amusements and gaiety. If perchance they failed to bring a fiddler with them one was immediately sent for, and in the dance and merriment that followed, the petty vexations and graver trials of the summer were forgotten. Those visits were returned by the farmer and wife, sometimes protracted in rounds of festivities, for many days, in accordance with ancient usages of the French villagers.

The verdict of the people at the polls in 1824 against the constitutional perpetuation of slavery in the State gave a surprising impetus to every branch of industry and business. The assurance that Illinois was henceforth consecrated to freedom, induced a marked increase of immigration that—like an invading army—pushed the frontier cordon of settlements farther and farther to the north. The spirit of progress was revived, and everywhere was manifested the awakening of dormant energies freed from the incubus of an impending monstrous evil. Roads were opened, new towns sprung up, "clearings" changed hands and were enlarged, new methods were introduced and old ones improved, and the Yankee schoolmaster and clock peddler appeared—sure harbingers of advancing civilization as the lark and blue bird are of the approach of spring.

The term of the four supreme court justices elected in 1818 for six years, having expired by limitation, the fourth general assembly, convened in extra session at Vandalia, Nov. 14, 1824, before the close of winter passed

a bill reorganizing the judiciary by creating a supreme court with four judges elected by the legislature for life, and five circuit judges, one for each of the five judicial circuits into which the bill divided the State. Of the supreme court, Wm. Wilson was elected chief justice, with Thomas C. Browne, Samuel D. Lockwood and Theophilus W. Smith, associate justices. Judge Phillips of the old court was so certain of being elected Governor in 1822, that he resigned his judgeship, and so disgusted and disappointed at his defeat, by Coles, that he left Illinois and returned to Tennessee. Judge Reynolds was an applicant for re-election to the supreme bench, but his name was not considered by the legislature. The five circuit judges appointed were John W. Sawyer, Samuel McRoberts, Richard M. Young, James Hall and James O. Wattles.

In the fourth general assembly, Joseph Duncan and Thomas Carlin appeared for the first time in public life, as Senators from Jackson and Greene counties respectively. Gov. Edwards had resigned his seat in the U. S. Senate to accept the appointment of Minister to Mexico, but before taking his departure for the Mexican capitol, became involved in an unfortunate controversy with Hon. William H. Crawford, secretary of the treasury, concerning deposits of land office funds in the broken State bank at Edwardsville, that added nothing to his prestige or reputation, but impelled him to resign his diplomatic mission to Mexico also. He then asked the fourth general assembly to vindicate him by reinstating him in the United States Senate to complete the term he had resigned, expiring on the third of March following. But the legislature refused to do so, electing instead his enemy, John McLean, by the vote of 31, to 19 for Edwards and 2 for Nathaniel Pope. For the

succeeding full term Elias K. Kane—who was so badly defated for Congress in 1820 by Daniel P. Cook—was elected.

Elias Kent Kane, it may be truthfully said, was the chief architect of the State government, or of the constitution framed by the convention of which he was perhaps the most active member.* He was born, of Irish parents, in New York, on June 7, 1786, and educated at Yale college. Before completing his law studies he wandered to Nashville, Tennessee, and in a short time continued his journey to Illinois, arriving in Kaskaskia in the fall of 1814. He was soon admitted to the bar, and married Felicite Peltia, a French girl, a native of Kaskaskia. He was the first Secretary of State of Illinois, appointed by Gov. Bond, and held that office four years. In 1824 he was elected to the legislature, and was one of the most earnest supporters of the slavery convention scheme, both in the legislature and in the columns of the *Republican Advocate*, which he then in part, edited. Notwithstanding his stalwart efforts to make Illinois a slave State, he was elected to the United States Senate in November, 1824, by an anti-convention legislature, on the tenth ballot, defeating Samuel D. Lockwood, one of the most ultra of anti-convention champions, by the vote of 28 to 23.

He was re-elected to the Senate in 1831, and died in Washington four years later, on Dec. 12, 1835, in the 49th year of his age, having served ten years in the national Senate. He was a fluent and able writer and eloquent speaker, a profound lawyer of brilliant talents, and a courtly gentleman of amiable disposition. He

* The first Illinois constitution was modeled after that of Kentucky, modified in several provisions—particularly such as related to negroes and negro slavery—to meet existing conditions in Illinois.

was tall, light complected and of prepossessing appearance, but not strong, physically. Kane county was so named to perpetuate his memory, by the legislature, in 1836.

In political complexion, the fourth general assembly, of 1824-5, was as decidedly anti-slavery as the third assembly had been for slavery. Logically and consistently it should have rewarded Gov. Coles and Judge Lockwood for their valiant services in leading the free-soil forces to victory in the fierce campaign just closed, by sending them to represent, in the U. S. Senate, the State they were so instrumental in making free. But instead, it elected to that high station the two strongest and most conspicuous leaders of the slave party; and from the other leaders of the same slave party it selected seven of the nine new judges. "There is nothing," remarks Hon. E. B. Washburne, "stranger than this in our political history."

As inexplicable also is the base ingratitude of the legislatures and people of Illinois in failing to adequately reward Judge Nathaniel Pope for the inestimable services he rendered the incipient State when its delegate in Congress. But for his far-seeing wisdom and efforts Illinois must have waited until its population was increased to 60,000 before its admission into the Union; and then its northern boundary would have been a line running west from the most southern point of Lake Michigan, giving to Wisconsin the fourteen Illinois counties lying at present north of that line, including Chicago and the Galena lead mines; also, the Illinois educational fund would probably have been deprived of the two-fifths of the proceeds of sales of public lands in its limits it afterwards received.

The census of 1825 enumerated a total population in Illinois of 72,817; and an adjourned session of the legislature thereupon reapportioned the representative districts. The visit to Illinois of the Marquis de LaFayette, in April, 1825, was a memorable event in the annals of the State. He was received at Kaskaskia by Gov. Coles, the supreme judges, members of the legislature and a multitude of citizens, with demonstrations of the highest respect. He was escorted from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, and thence to Shawneetown where a steamboat was chartered to convey him and party to Nashville, Tennessee, and back to Shawneetown, from whence he took his departure for the east accompanied by the Governor. The total expenses incurred by the State in entertaining the illustrious guest amounted to $6,473. That bill, together with the cost of taking the State census, the pay of five additional judges, and of the adjourned session of the legislature, not only drained the state treasury, but caused a deficit of over $40,000.

A public debt of that magnitude seriously alarmed the people. With but insignificant sources of public revenue, and no sound money, or sound banks in the State, general bankruptcy seemed inevitable. Then arose a cry from the people for retrenchment in public expenditures. From all parts of the State were heard loud and indignant protests against the prodigal and reckless waste of State revenues for the support of public schools,* for pensioning life officers (the supreme judges), and the unnecessary expense of five additional judges. There were bitter complaints of legislative extravagance in paying to each of the supreme judges $800 per annum, and an annual salary of $600 to each of the cir-

* Authorized by a bill introduced by Senator Joseph Duncan and adopted by the last legislature.

cuit judges. Popular dissatisfaction grew more clamorous as time passed, until curtailment of State expenses became the paramount issue in the next general election.

The phenomenal popularity developed by Gen'l Jackson in the recent four-cornered presidential contest, had the effect in Illinois, as elsewhere in the Union, of distinctly defining political parties. His friends contended that having received the highest number of electoral votes he should have been declared elected President by the house of representatives, and that he was cheated out of the office by the minions of "the Yankee Abolitionist,"—Adams. Then commenced the furious party antagonism that has descended, with increased asperity, to the present day. Prior to 1825 those who arrayed themselves under the Jackson banner were styled "Democratic Republicans," and called their opponents "Federalists." After election of Mr. Adams, his adherents assumed the party designation of "National Republicans"—changed in the next presidential campaign to "Whigs." The Jackson men then dropped the "Republican" part of their party name and were henceforth known simply as Democrats. Arrayed under those titles the opposing party lines were sharply drawn, and party measures, or "principles," in future dictated selection of candidates for office,—instead of mere preferences for individuals as before—expressed in the motto adopted, "Principles, not Men."

For reasons not stated in Reynolds' autobiography the cordial relations existing between himself and Gov. Edwards up to 1823, were after that date very severely strained. It was, however, an open secret at the time that dissolution of their alliance was due to the disfavor,

if not jealousy and disgust, with which Edwards regarded the aspirations of Reynolds for the Senate; and, on the part of Reynolds, resentment for Edwards' lack of good faith in failing, or refusing, to render him the assistance he then desired. His failure to defeat Judge Thomas for the Senate, in 1823, greatly mortified Reynolds; but the triumph of McLean over Edwards for a like position at the next session of the legislature mitigated his disappointment, and he took no pains to conceal his gratification at the result.

"In the spring of 1826," Reynolds states, in his *Life and Times*, "Gov. Edwards and the anti-convention party assembled at Belleville, and selected a full ticket for all the county offices, sheriff and all. Of course I and my friends were not included." But, merely "to gratify the people" Reynolds brought himself out as a candidate for the legislature, with a full ticket of his "friends" for the county offices, in opposition to those of the Edwards-Cook faction.

The waning popularity of Gov. Edwards admonished him that something must be done to regain his fading lustre and save himself from that common and dreaded doom of politicians, lapsing into obscurity. The Senate, he was convinced, was out of his reach. His son-in-law, Daniel P. Cook, was more acceptable to the people for Congressman than himself; but Gov. Coles' term would soon expire, and several of his friends strongly urged him to offer for that place. And he did so. He made no overtures to Reynolds for his friendship and assistance, but, as Reynolds states, was "hostile" to him, and "published many severe and bitter handbills against me during this election and the succeeding one of 1828." The candidates for Governor opposing Gov. Edwards were

Thomas Sloo, Jr., and Lieutenant Governor Hubbard, both ultra Jackson men. Edwards was also a supporter of Jackson, but, like Reynolds—not so strenuously for Jackson as to offend the Whigs. He made a very earnest and dignified canvass of the settlements, always appearing in public dressed in fine cloth, with ruffled shirt front, and polished boots, and traveled in his carriage with a negro driver, his slave.

Mr. Sloo* was a gentleman of very fair abilities and high character, a successful merchant and State Senator, but little known beyond the limits of his own district. Ninian Edwards was elected Governor at the general State election, Aug. 7th, 1826, by the slender majority of 446 over Mr. Sloo, receiving 6,280 votes, to 5,834 for Sloo, and 580 for Hubbard. The combined number of votes cast for Sloo and Hubbard exceeding that of Gov. Edwards by 134, leaves little doubt that had he been opposed by any one of the well-known popular Jackson politicians in the place of Mr. Sloo, or by Mr. Sloo

* Thomas Sloo, Jr., son of Thomas and Elizabeth [Roe] Sloo, formerly of the State of New York, was born in Washington, Mason County, Kentucky, on the 5th of April, 1790. With fair country school education, he migrated to Cincinnati, O., when twenty years of age, engaged in the mercantile business, and was there united in marriage, in 1814, to Miss Harriet Irwin, who died less than a year later. On the 25th of August, 1819, he married Miss Rebecca Smith Findlay, and in 1820 sought a new home in the young State of Illinois. He located in Hamilton county and soon became a successful and popular merchant. He was elected to the State Senate in 1822 and served until 1826, and voted for the convention resolution. In 1828 he left Illinois and moved to New Orleans, where he again entered the mercantile business. There his wife died in 1845, and in 1848 he changed his residence to Havana, Cuba, and was there married, on the 24th of May, 1849, to Miss Maria Frances Campbell, a native of South Carolina, who died in New Orleans on January 17, 1900. After a few years he returned to New Orleans, and was elected city treasurer, and served in minor positions on city boards, then was made president of the Sun Mutual Insurance Company and remained in its service until his death, which occurred on January 17, 1879, at the age of 88 years, 9 months and 12 days. He was always pro-slavery in sentiment, a strict member of the Episcopalian church, and remarkable for his old school courtly and polished manners.

alone, who was comparatively a stranger, he would have been defeated.*

William Kinney, personally and politically opposed to Gov. Edwards, and residing in the same county, the Slow candidate for Lieutenant Governor, was elected. John Reynolds was also elected a member of the legislature in St. Clair county. A large majority of the general assembly elected at the same time were, as Reynolds was, opponents of Gov. Edwards.

The startling surprise of that election was the defeat of Daniel P. Cook for Congress by Joseph Duncan, whose majority reached 694. The explanation of that unexpected result was the fact that in the late election of President by the house of representatives in 1824, Mr. Cook cast the vote of Illinois for John Quincy Adams. Although his act in so doing was apparently justified by Mr. Adams having received the highest number of votes in Illinois at the presidential election in 1824, the Jackson men believed Mr. Cook misrepresented his constituents, and had joined the Abolitionists.

And thus terminated the meteoric career of Daniel Pope Cook. He was then acting chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means in the House of Representatives and one of the most brilliant and influential members of Congress. The ravages of tubercular consumption were rapidly undermining his frail system and setting a limit to his days. On expiration of his last term in Congress he visited Cuba with hope of obtaining from that climate some recuperation of his shattered health.

* The election of Gov. Edwards in 1826 was very distasteful to Lieut.-Gov. Kinney, who remarked that Edwards reminded him "of an old, broken down horse, so worn out that he could barely jump over into the corn field, and so exhausted that he couldn't eat any corn after he got in"—meaning that Edwards was barely elected by an extraordinary effort, and was so shorn of influence and power that he could accomplish nothing after securing the place.

Disappointed in his expectations, and on the contrary, his strength failing, despondent and dispirited, he returned to his home in Edwardsville. Conscious that the end was not far distant he took leave of his wife and child, and numerous admirers, and leaving Illinois and the scenes of his highly honorable achievements, he took his way alone to the home of his childhood in Kentucky to once more see his parents; and there he died on the 16th of October, 1827, at the early age of thirty-three. Three years later (1830) his wife also died, at the residence of her father, Gov. Edwards, in Belleville, a victim of the same dread disease, consumption, leaving an only son, Gen'l John Cook, now an honored citizen of Michigan.

In the twelve years of Daniel P. Cook's residence in Illinois he practiced law, edited a paper, was circuit judge, attorney general, and for seven years the sole representative of the State in the lower house of Congress. In the latter service, acting upon a memorial from the Illinois legislature, and ably aided by Senators Kane and Thomas, he secured from Congress the grant of five alternate sections of land on each side of the Illinois and Michigan canal its entire length (300,000 acres), including a portion of Chicago, which practicaly ensured completion of that great enterprise. For his valuable services to the State the legislature testified the people's gratitude by naming Cook county in his honor.

Joseph Duncan was a native of Bourbon county, Kentucky, born February 22d, 1794. At the age of eighteen he enlisted in the military service of his country, and served with bravery through the war with England of 1812-'14. He was an Ensign with Col. Croghan at the heroic defense of Fort Stephenson, where he conducted

himself with such gallantry that Congress directed the President to present him a sword in token of the nation's appreciation of his high merits. He came to Illinois with his widowed mother, and her other children, in 1818, and settled at Fountain Bluff in Jackson county. He had received but moderate education in the Kentucky country schools, but time developed his sound practical sense, and he stored his well-balanced mind with much useful learning. In 1823 he was appointed major general of the Illinois militia, and in 1824 was elected to the State Senate.

At the August election in 1826 polls for voting were opened for the first time in Chicago, where 30 votes were cast, all for Edwards and Cook.

Notwithstanding the broken banks and scarcity of money, the wretched roads and overflowed streams and submerged prairies in the spring, and the green-headed flies, mosquitoes and malaria in the summer, Illinois continued to receive annually large accessions of population, and to prosper. The yield of corn, wheat and oats in 1826 was unprecedented, and fruits of all kinds, known to flourish here, were in great profusion. In the southern counties of the State the cultivation of castor beans had commenced, and that of tobacco, cotton and flax had proven very satisfactory, the products being sufficient to supply all local demands.

The fifth general assembly was elected on the issue of retrenchment and reform. The members chosen met at Vandalia on Dec. 4th, 1826, and were faithful to their ante-election pledges. William Kinney, the Lieutenant Governor, presided over the Senate, with Emanuel J. West, as Secretary; and in the house, John McLean, late U. S. Senator, was again elected Speaker, and William

L. D. Ewing, clerk. By way of retrenchment the legislature repealed the Duncan free school law and the Hamilton road law. It also repealed the five new circuit judges out of office, and so amended the balance of the judiciary system as to require the four supreme court justices to hold circuit courts, thereby curtailing the State's expenses the sum of $3,000 annually. A bill, introduced by John Reynolds to abolish the whipping post and pillory as punishment for crimes, and substitute in lieu thereof a penitentiary at Alton, was passed. For ways and means to erect the State prison provided for, Congress was appealed to, and, in response, granted the State authority to sell 30,000 acres of the Gallatin county saline lands, and 10,000 acres of the Vermilion county salines, and apply one-half of the proceeds of said sales to the prison building fund, and the other half to the counties in the eastern part of the State for public improvements therein. Ex-Gov. Bond, Dr. Gershom Jayne and William P. McKee were appointed a board of Commissioners to locate the prison and to superintend its construction.

Then the legislature proceeded to elect a state treasurer to succeed Abner Field. Four candidates offered for the place, Abner Field, James Hall, who had just been repealed out of his lately acquired judgeship, John Tilson and Abraham Prickett. On the ninth ballot Judge Hall was elected. Field fully expected to be re-elected, but disappointed and vexed by his defeat, immediately on adjournment of the session rushed into the hall and personally chastised four of the members who had voted against him, and the others scampered away in undignified haste to escape his wrath.

At the opening of the session of the legislature Gov.

Edwards delivered his inaugural message to the assembly in person, in his usual pompous style, dressed in the height of fashion, resplendent in gold-laced broad cloth coat and vest, and fine linen shirt with ruffled bosom and cuffs. In the early part of the session, in a special message to the legislature, he made grave charges of corruption against the managers of the State bank at Edwardsville, William Kinney, Shadrach Bond, Thomas Carlin, Abraham Prickett, Elijah Iles and Theophilus W. Smith. The majority of the legislature, however, more friendly to those gentlemen than to the Governor, in taking action upon the message appointed a special committee—all of whom were strong anti-Edwards men —to investigate the charges, which they did with modern whitewashing effect, fully exonerating the bank officers from all blame or suspicion.

The justices of the supreme court, instructed by a previous legislature to revise the state laws, reported the result of their labors constituting a most thorough and able revision of the statutes, much of which is still retained unchanged.

The counties of Vermilion, Shelby, Tazewell, Perry, McDonough and Jo Daviess were organized, and the legislature adjourned on the 19th of February, 1827. The spring months of 1827 passed without event of note but were enlivened by the annual hegira at that season, of laborers, loafers, speculators and gamblers to the lead diggings at Galena, who, imitating the habits of the "sucker" fish, migrated up the river in the spring and returned in the fall to winter in the south, hence were called Suckers.

A little later, or early in the summer, occurred in the vicinity of Galena the famed "Winnebago war"—more

properly the "Winnebago scare"—that for a brief time excited the State with apprehensions of a serious Indian outbreak. The Winnebago Indians claimed and occupied the territory between Galena and the Wisconsin River, and though friendly with the whites, had for some time been irritated by continual trespasses and outrages committed by miners, prospectors and boatmen, and retaliated by the murder of one or more of the white intruders. The *casus belli* precipitating the conflict mentioned and dignified by the term "Winnebago war," was said by Gen. Reynolds, and other historians, to have been the kidnapping of a number of squaws by the crews of two keel boats on the way up the river with supplies for Fort Snelling. That version is pronounced totally untrue and absurd by Mr. Frank E. Stevens in his late masterly history of *The Black Hawk War*.

He traces the origin of the trouble to the implacable enmity of Black Hawk and his British band of Sacs to the Americans. He says the Dakota Sioux and Chippewas having fallen out, a party of the former while entertaining a few of the latter, almost under the walls of Fort Snelling, fell upon them and murdered them in cold blood. Whereupon Col. Snelling, in command of the fort, in accordance with Indian custom, arrested four of the guilty Dakotas and delivered them to the Chippewas who demanded them, and they were summarily dispatched. The Dakotas thought Col. Snelling had no right to interfere in their family jars, and awaited an opportunity to wreak their vengeance on some of the whites.

Red Bird, a noted chief of the Winnebagos, had but recently led an expedition against the Chippewas which resulted in disastrous failure. While humiliated and

mortified by his defeat he was approached by the wily Dakotas who represented to him that the four Indians delivered by Col. Snelling to Chippewa slaughter were Winnebagos. Then followed the massacre of several settlers by Red Bird's band. About that time two keel boats descending the river from Fort Snelling were attacked, about the mouth of the Bad Axe, by Indians supposed to be Winnebagos, but were in reality Dakotas and a party of Sacs under Black Hawk. Two of the boatmen were killed and four wounded, of whom two subsequently died.

That friction between the races was productive of intense excitement among both. The Winnebagos dispatched couriers throughout their tribe and the Sioux inciting them to prepare for a general uprising to exterminate the whites. The white settlers became wildly alarmed. Not less than 3,000 of them fled to Galena for safety. The citizens were formed into companies, defenses were erected, and the Governor was appealed to for protection. In response, Gov. Edwards as quickly as possible sent to Galena a regiment of militia from Sangamon and Morgan counties commanded by Col. T. M. Neale. Volunteers from all of the settlements, then fully aroused, offered their services to the Governor. In the mean time, however, Gen'l Atkinson came upon the scene with 600 regular soldiers, and with the Galena militia, marched into the Indian country and, without firing a gun, pacified the trouble. He arrested several of the principal chiefs, among whom was Black Hawk, who were afterwards tried for previous murders of whites. One or two were found guilty and executed, and the others liberated. Black Hawk was one of those acquitted, and, it is said, he afterwards boasted of hav-

ing himself committed the murders for which they were tried.

When Col. Neale arrived at Galena, by forced marches, he and his men were much disgusted on learning that peace was restored. They returned home disappointed, but for several years enjoyed the distinction, among their neighbors, of being heroes of the "Winnebago war."

CHAPTER IV.

Gov. Edwards and John McLean—Election of Gen. Jackson and dominance of the Jackson Party—Progress of Education and Literature in Illinois—Numerous distilleries, and habits of liquor drinking—Reynolds and Kinney contest for Governor—Mr. Snyder elected to the State Senate.

The political campaign of 1828 commenced in the summer of 1827, and before the long, cold winter had fairly set in a host of candidates for the legislature and other offices were industriously interviewing the voters. Politics then, as now, was the regular vocation of many and the pastime of all. Illinois had suffered from protracted droughts, crop failures, wars, pestilence and financial panics, but never from a dearth of patriots ready and willing to accept office. The office seeker was here before the State came, and is still here in superabundance.

Gen'l Jackson was the standing candidate for the Presidency of all who were opposed to the Adams administration, and the Democrats of Illinois, believing he had before been defrauded of his election by New England influence, were enthusiastic in his support. His stanch friend, Gen'l Duncan, was again a candidate for Congress, opposed by George Forquer. In St. Clair county, Judge Reynolds was also "in the hands of his friends" for re-election to the legislature, and Risdon Moore, Jr., a near neighbor of Mr. Snyder in the American Bottom, was a candidate for the State Senate.

In Gallatin county John McLean was once more before the people for the legislature. He had twice been elected Speaker of the house, and he declared it his intention, if successful at the next election in his county, he would again be an applicant for the U. S. Senate to succeed

Judge Jesse B. Thomas, who had published his intention to retire at the expiration of his term. Gov. Edwards would have been much pleased to re-enter the Senate when he vacated the Executive chair, but saw the hopelessness of attempting a contest for it against McLean, then the strongest public man in the State. They had antagonized each other before admission of Illinois into the Union, and the two victories of Cook over McLean for Congress, with the latter's defeat of Edwards for the Senate, had intensified their mutual enmity. In the flush and glow of his power, Edwards looked down on McLean as an obtrusive upstart scarcely worthy of his respect. Time, however, wrought a change in their political standing, and now, conscious that the scepter of popular control was slipping from his grasp, and catching at every hope to retain it, Edwards became a meek supplicant for McLean's friendship. Suppressing his long-nurtured resentment, he wrote to McLean—who no longer feared, but defied him—a long, carefully worded letter, from Vandalia, dated the 24th of June, 1828, in which he said: "I have no disposition to oppose your election to the Senate of the United States, and that I at present sincerely wish your success, and would be happy if any exertion of mine could ensure it. * * * And hence I have so often declined to respond to the various attempts to draw me out in relation to Mr. Pope's pretentions, that my aid is not, as it need not be, calculated on by him." Farther on he remarked, "Not only Smith, but West, John Reynolds and Snyder, all candidates for the legislature, profess to prefer Mr. Pope to anyone else."*

The precise object Gov. Edwards had in view in thus humiliating himself to his old enemy is not very

* Edwards Papers, pp. 346-349.

apparent. Judge Nathaniel Pope, then aspiring to the Senate, was his cousin, and had always been his active supporter. Reynolds, it is true, was a candidate for the legislature, and was probably favorable to Judge Pope's election; but neither Smith, West or Snyder were candidates for the legislature, and were all three undoubted McLean men. Edwards knew that he was powerless to defeat McLean before the people, or their representatives in the general assembly, and probably wisely concluded that it would be better to place himself then in harmony with the party in power. Another motive actuating him was an effort to enlist McLean's aid to defeat Duncan for Congress, knowing that he (McLean) and Forquer were on terms of cordial friendship, though they had been uncompromising opponents in the convention campaign of 1824.

The spirit of "Old Hickory" was broadly diffused in Illinois in 1828. The Jackson men were fairly frenzied with enthusiasm for their distinguished leader. In the extravagance of their patriotic zeal for the hero of New Orleans they regarded opposition to his election as tantamount to treason. In many localities no Whig could be found rash enough to run for office, and Democrats of different degrees of loyalty to Jackson were opposing candidates.

The August election of 1828 was another Jacksonian victory. Joseph Duncan was re-elected to Congress, defeating Forquer* by over 4,000 majority. In St. Clair

* George Forquer, a half brother of Gov. Ford and six years his senior, worked in St. Louis for several years as a house carpenter, and prospered. Returning to Illinois he and Daniel P. Cook laid out the town of Waterloo in Monroe county. He then studied law, and in 1824 was elected to the legislature; was then appointed Secretary of State by Gov Coles, and resigned to accept the office of Attorney General to which he was elected by the legislature in January, 1829. In 1832 he was elected State Senator in Sangamon county, and in 1835 was appointed Register of the land office at Springfield by President Jackson. He died, of consumption, in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1837, at the age of 43 years.

county, Risdon Moore, Jr., was elected to the State Senate, and John Reynolds and William G. Brown, all three convention, or pro-slavery, men, to the lower house—Reynolds receiving 493 votes, Brown 461, John H. Dennis 394, Abraham Eyman 342, Levi Piggott 22, and John A. Manz 5. Dennis and Eyman were "Edwards men."

In the fall Gen'l Jackson was triumphantly elected President, having 178 electoral votes to 83 for John Quincy Adams. The Jackson Democracy was then unquestionably dominant in the Union—in Illinois it was supreme.

Upon organization of the sixth general assembly, at Vandalia, on the 1st of December, 1828, John McLean was, for the third time, elected Speaker of the House. The message of Gov. Edwards, covering thirty-eight closely written pages, was the most lengthy and elaborate yet delivered by any Illinois Governor. As a means for regaining his former preeminence in politics and statesmanship his fertile brain evolved a sensational policy, startling to the country and confusing to his enemies. With many plausible arguments, and subtle reasoning, he announced it in his message to be the right of Illinois to all the public lands within its limits. It did startle the legislature. The doctrine was new, and the Governor's political enemies, largely in the majority, apprehensive that the people might be favorably impressed with the prospective acquisition by the State of such vast wealth, sustained it by adopting a resolution declaring that "the United States cannot hold any right of soil within the limits of the State, but for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock yards, and other needful buildings." In some portions of the State this new phase of "State Sovereignty" was earnestly en-

dorsed by the people, in others the representatives who voted for the resolution were laughed at by their constituents for having been made such fools of by Gov. Edwards. It is needlss to say that Congress took no notice of the Governor's novel "buncomb."

The joint session to select a senator to succeed Hon. Jesse B. Thomas elected John McLean without opposition and by acclamation, "a circumstance," Hon. E. B. Washburn has said, "without a parallel in the history of our State." The remarkably gifted recipient of that rare honor lived, however, to serve but one session of his six years' term, and died, at his home, in Shawneetown, on the 14th of October, 1830, aged 39 years. Judge Thomas, having perfected his arrangements, left Illinois, on expiration of his term in the Senate, March 3d, 1829, and removed to Mt. Vernon, Ohio. For twenty years he had held high official positions in Illinois, and always executed the trust reposed in him with fidelity and eminent ability. He retained throughout that period the unbounded confidence and respect of the people; but rather than stultify himself by suporting Jackson, odious to him politically and personally, thereby to retain the following of his constituents who adored Old Hickory, he chose to relinquish further aspirations to political honors, and leave the State.

The constant dread of taxation haunting the people impelled the sixth general assembly to adopt the wretched expedient of selling the lands donated by Congress to the State for educational purposes, and borrowing the proceeds of such sales to defray current expenses of State government. The lands thus granted by Congress to maintain schools comprised one whole township of six miles square, "to support a seminary of learning,"

and the sixteenth section in each township; or the sixteenth part of the entire public domain within the State. It was all sacrificed to avoid ruffling the feelings of "tax dodgers," and settlers who had squatted on the school sections. By that criminal folly of weak demagogues the squatters were undisturbed, the inevitable burden of taxation was temporarily staved off, but the cause of education was robbed of a princely fund, and a perpetual debt entailed upon future taxpayers. By 1829 the influence of expanding social and commercial intercourse with the older states were very perceptible in Illinois. The coonskin cap, deerskin moccasins, fringed hunting shirt and buckskin breeches, the common pioneer masculine apparel, were fast disappearing. And in the more advanced settlements factory-made fabrics were replacing the jeans and linseys of domestic manufacture. There, too, the carryalls and dearborns were superseding ox wagons as family conveyances, and fine saddle horses were in greater demand. Churches and school houses were more numerous, and their refining impress on society was apparent. Here and there a neat, painted frame house loomed up in front, or to one side, of the old log cabin in which the family was raised, flanked on either side by a modern barn and thrifty apple orchard.

Increasing numbers of steamboats on the rivers facilitating transportation stimulated all agricultural and industrial interests, as well as commerce in its various departments. Farm products, no longer limited to domestic consumption, were exported to distant river points and profitably sold, or exchanged. The only circulating medium was still the depreciated notes of banks in this and other states. That currency, though below par, was a valued agency in promoting business by its constant circulation, as it could not be hoarded

for fear of further depreciation. A "shinplaster" worth seventy-five cents on the dollar at sunset might next morning be quoted at only fifty cents.

Newspapers published in the State were gradually multiplying, and in many of the better class residences, books and papers were substituted for trophies of the chase. Though the common school system provided by Senator Duncan's bill had been suppressed in its inception, the cause of education still kept pace with the material growth of the State. In 1827 the Baptists established, on the farm of Rev. J. M. Peck in St. Clair county, Rock Spring Seminary, which was subsequently removed to Upper Alton and there, transformed into Shurtleff College, is still in flourishing condition. At Lebanon, in St. Clair county, McKendree College, now the oldest institution of learning in the State, and well maintained under the presidency of that profound scholar, McKendree Hypes Chamberlain, LL. D., was founded in 1828 under the auspices of the Methodist conference. The Catholic convent at Kaskaskia, for education of young ladies, then at the zenith of its usefulness, was the highest grade school in the west and deservedly very popular.

The votaries of literature in Illinois had already attracted the attention of the world of letters, and become famous in both hemispheres. Judge James Hall, Prof. John Russell, Rev. John Mason Peck, Sidney Breese, were pioneer authors of genius, whose many contributions of sterling merit to the literature of that day were important factors in the intellectual progress of the State. The writers above mentioned, with several other public men of distinction and cultured tastes, organized a State Historical Society at Vandalia in 1827. Several sessions of the Society were held, at the State capitol, of

exceeding interest, at which papers were read and addresses delivered of much historic value. Judge James Hall was its president, and on the roll of its members were, with those above mentioned, the now historic names of Samuel D. Lockwood, Gov. Edward Coles, John Reynolds, Samuel McRoberts, W. L. D. Ewing, Peter Cartwright, Gov. Ninian Edwards, Chief Justice William Wilson, Edmund D. Taylor, David J. Baker, Richard M. Young and Theophilus W. Smith. The abandonment of that organization, and loss of its archives were a positive calamity to the State and people, deplored particularly by after generations. Illinois had then passed its period of greatest illiteracy. There were still some adults who could neither read or write, but their number was annually diminishing. A common impression of the early western pioneers—created by ignorant, or designing, eastern writers—portrayed them as rude and vulgar, total strangers to literary acquirements and refinement of manners, and, in all personal essentials of civilization and culture, but little above the savages they had displaced. Such was far from the truth. Among the volunteers led by George Rogers Clark into Illinois, and who subsequently returned to it, with others, to make it their home, a large proportion were men of more or less education, superior intelligence and sterling worth. And such was the character of the settlers of Illinois from the first. The dissolute and depraved were exceptional, as in all new territories. In 1829, the agitation for temperance reform, so general a few years later, had not yet emerged from its Boston cradle. If heard of incidentally in the west it was denounced as a pernicious puritanical movement of the Yankees to abridge personal liberties guaranteed by the constitution. Small portable distilleries—the "Ven-

omous Worm" of Prof. Russell—had been introduced into the State by early immigrants from Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Kentucky, and operated here and there in the settlements, unhampered by restrictive, or revenue, laws in their conversion of sod corn into whiskey, which had the merit, at least, of cheapness and freedom from deleterious adulterations.

Moderate drinking was then not considered derogatory to character; nor was total abstinence esteemed a criterion of moral excellence or social purity. Liquors were staple articles of merchandise at all retail stores; and dramshops known then as "groceries," untaxed, or but nominally taxed, were a conspicuous feature of every town and crossroads village. Liquor was also the almost universal adjunct of hospitality, and the most potent agent in electioneering for office.

When the legislature adjourned, in January, 1829, John Reynolds was once more out of office, but "the leading characters all over the State had solicited him to offer as a candidate for Governor;"* and he did so. There was then in Illinois practically but one political party—the Jackson party, the Whigs being in such a hopeless minority as to regard it futile to run candidates for the higher offices, and only in a few counties were they strong enough to elect local officers. The result, or effect, of that condition was segregation of the Jackson party into factions based on different degrees of Jacksonism. Reynolds was a Jackson Democrat of the "Milk and Cider" brand -very conservative and prudent. The Whigs, though weak, were almost strong enough to hold the balance of power in the State. He inferred that no member of their party had the temerity to enter

* Reynolds' Life and Times, p. 290.

the race for Governor, and shrewdly calculated that a "milk and cider" course, in reference to Jackson, would secure to him the support of all the moderate Jackson men, and that the Whigs would vote for him as a choice of evils.

William Kinney, the Lieutenant Governor, attended the inauguration of President Jackson, March 4th, 1829, and on his return to Illinois from Washington City, announced himself a candidate for Governor, as an ultra, or "Whole Hog" Jackson man. Kinney was inclined to go the "whole hog" in all things; in other words, he was an extremist. Proscription for opinion's sake had not yet become a party tenet, and Gov. Kinney was one of the first to promulgate it as the correct party doctrine. "The Whigs," he said, "should be whipped out of office like dogs out of a meat house." Though the election was not to take place until August, 1830, the canvass of the State was commenced by both candidates in the spring of 1829.

No sentiment appeals to the average American with such stirring force as that of patriotism. Especially in the scramble for office is a gunpowder record far more effective for attaining success than the finest scholastic qualifications. Thrice is that candidate armed who at some period of his life shouldered his gun in defense of his country. Kinney had no war record, having chosen in early manhood to tread the avenues of peace as a Minister of the gospel; but Reynolds had served his State in its time of danger as a "Ranger," when the frontier was menaced by combined English and Indian foes, in 1812-14. From that service he gained the sobriquet of the "Old Ranger"—of which he was justly quite proud—and when a candidate for office posed be-

fore a grateful people as a veteran defender of his country. Though Gov. Edwards had run his public course—as all politicians do, sooner or later—the faction he controlled was still a power in the political affairs of the State. To conciliate that element, and if not enlist its support, at least neutralize its opposition, the Old Ranger wisely concluded would be a master stroke of policy. But he saw no way to acomplish it but by abasing himself to his haughty enemy, Edwards, and humbly beg restoration of his friendship—as Edwards had shortly before prostrated himself in the dust before McLean. While he was fully aware of the low estimate placed upon himself by Gov. Edwards, he also knew that no public man in the State was so obnoxious to Gov. Edwards as Kinney. He entertained no fear that Edwards would support Kinney; but the danger he apprehended was that the Edwards men might possibly ally themselves with the Whigs, and bring out a third candidate for Governor, who would defeat the divided Jackson party—both himself and Kinney.

Spurred to desperate action by the seeming exigency of the situation, the Old Ranger addressed Gov. Edwards as follows:

"WATERLOO, 12 August, 1829.

DEAR SIR:

I conceive it my duty to communicate with you. I do it in the spirit of peace and good will. Let the past be forgotten. It is right for the public good to unite, and lay aside all personal difficulties. Many of your friends are mine. Many of them have proposed me to the public for governor. It is necessary to secure success for us all to act in concert. All this anxiety for the good of the State will come to nothing if we do not act together. This can be done without making much parade about it at the beginning. I have been over some of the State this spring, and will see much of it this fall. I would be much pleased to say to our mutual friends that all was harmony in this section of the State.

We must act not only in concert, but with energy to gain all points. We have the means, if we use them right. We must head our opponents in their own way. Presses, speeches, and much riding must be brought in our aid. I will do my part. I was placed on the track at Vandalia for this purpose that I could help myself. I have not been lazy in the business. We are all equally interested in the present approaching contest. The office I go in for with the wishes of our friends is not the only one. Please write me to Kaskaskia by Mr. Cowles.

Your humble serv't,

JOHN REYNOLDS. *

GOV. N. EDWARDS, Belleville.
Fav'd by A. Cowles, Esq."

The intimation delicately conveyed in the closing line that the office "our friends" were trying to force upon him was "not the only one," was a well-aimed shaft that struck Gov. Edwards in a vulnerable point—his lingering hope that he might again occupy a seat in the United States Senate. His answer was dignified, cautious and non-committal, but he asserted positively that he was not for Kinney, and would, in due time, demonstrate the right of the State to all the lands within its limits, and "maintain it without force, or the slightest interruption to the tranquillity of the Union." That was another vulnerable point, that Reynolds lost no time in attacking. He unhesitatingly became zealous in his advocacy of that queer hobby, and so adroitly plied his flattery that he secured the active support of Gov. Edwards before the summer had passed. In fact, their relations grew to be quite cordial and confidential. Writing to Gov. Edwards from Cold Prairie, Dec. 1st, 1829, the Old Ranger said: "I rec'd from Mr. Cowles the *writing*, which I know to be excellent. I am under obligations for it. I tho't it advisable to change some of the expressions

* Edwards Papers, p. 416 et seq.

more into my *lingo*. The reasoning on the subject of the public lands is demonstrating itself, and shall go *verbatim*. No man of any ordinary capacity can resist the argument. * * * I know not how many of these handbills ought to go out. I was thinking of 1,000. If you cannot go to Vandalia, please inform Mr. Cowles of your notions on this subject. I would like soon to see whom we ought to elect to the legislature."*

The Old Ranger adopted without hesitancy as his own, the electioneering handbill written for him by Gov. Edwards; but very prudenty changed some of its high-sounding rhetorical expressions into his own well-known "lingo;" the Governor's ready-made arguments "on the subject of the public lands," however, he permitted to "go *verbatim*." No less significant was the hint about seeing "whom we ought to elect to the legislature," as one duty of the legislature he referred to would be the election of a U. S. Senator.

William Kinney, the candidate for governor opposed to Reynolds, was born in Kentucky in 1781, and came with his parents and their other children, to New Design, Illinois, in 1793. He is said to have driven the first team and wagon that ever passed over the road from Fort Massac to Kaskaskia. He grew up to manhood on the farm in rude ignorance, an energetic, frolicksome, good natured fellow, and—fortunately for himself—married before he had reached the age of twenty. After that event he was taught, by John Messenger, to read and write, and upon that foundation became in time, by his own efforts and application to study, a very intelligent and well-informed man. In 1803 he located four miles northeast of Belleville on heavily timbered land, and

* Edwards Papers, pp. 463-464.

there built his cabin and cleared a farm. To that industry he added a country store, and prospered. His business tact was marvelous. He bought and sold anything offered or demanded, from whiskey, pigs and chickens, to negro slaves and farms, and amassed a large and valuable estate. In 1809 he was converted and joined the Baptist church, and not long afterwards was authorized by the church to preach, which he did with zeal and effect. In an evil hour he contracted the mania for public life and office, and, in 1818, was elected a Senator in the first State legislature.

In stature he was above medium height, squarely and compactly built, muscular, energetic and active; with hazel eyes and auburn hair. He had regular, pleasant features; kind, sympathetic nature, and sanguine, jovial disposition. Not profound in thought or book learning, he had much solid, clear, common sense, and his cordial, friendly ways made him popular among the people. His voice was strong, and though not eloquent or always logical, his speeches, as his conversation, interspersed with witty anecdotes and homely original phrases, were interesting and entertaining. His convictions were firmly grounded and immovable, as were his friendships and enmities; but in all things he was actuated by a high and delicate sense of honor. The pursuit of office and its—too common—concomitant, generous, convivial habits, finally wrought his ruin and clouded the evening of his life with financial troubles and pitiable wreck of his bright and vigorous mind.

The protracted contest was characterized by extraordinary earnestness and enthusiasm on the part of both candidates and their friends. They repeatedly traveled over all settled portions of the State, not omitting

Galena, then in the zenith of its phenomenal prosperity and separated from the older settlements by an uninhabited waste of over two hundred miles. They addressed the people daily, scattered their handbills everywhere, and caused whiskey to flow as freely as water. Kinney was not a writer, but always had at hand an amanuensis to write his correspondence and shape his copy for the printer. And Reynolds, professing to be a "classic" scholar, as already shown, was not backward in availing himself of Gov. Edwards' "*writing*," and of help from every available quarter.* Enclosing the copy of another hand bill for Reynolds to his brothers, Cyrus and B. F. Edwards, for the printer at Edwardsville, on July 15, 1830, Gov. Edwards wrote to them: "I will either pay $15 toward the expense, or procure sufficient money for Reynolds, which I can do by going his security and giving 12½ per cent interest. I have already advanced more money than all of Reynolds' friends together, though they do not seem to know it." The fact that Gov. Edwards was actively assisting Reynolds—supposed with ulterior motives—was soon generally known, and before the campaign closed, Kinney and all his cohorts measurably ignored Reynolds, and aimed their malignant abuse and vituperation at Edwards.

Kinney avoided prolix discussions of State policy, and sought to amuse and interest his hearers with ridiculous allusions to Reynolds, and endeavored to fasten upon him the charge of being an Adams man, and claiming that he himself was the only Jackson candidate. Reynolds drank no liquor, but saw that his "friends" who did were well supplied with it. He made no personal

* "I told Reynolds he must fight the battle more bravely, or he would be an object of contempt deservedly; and he has agreed to publish a hand bill written by Ford and myself for him."—George Forquer to Gov. Edwards. Edwards Papers, pp. 518-519.

charges against Kinney and invariably treated him with deference and respect.

Risdon Moore, Jr., the senator elected in St. Clair county in 1828, died, at his home, in the summer of 1829. That sad event caused a vacancy in the county's representation in the State Senate to be supplied at the next general election in 1830. When the selection of a candidate to succeed Mr. Moore was agitated the people of the county with great unanimity turned to Adam W. Snyder as the most available man for the place. So general and spontaneous was their choice that he could not well decline it, and, in obedience to their wishes, he announced himself a candidate as a Jackson Democrat, but unidentified with either the "milk and cider" or "whole hog" factions. He was not, however, permitted to occupy the field alone. Extremists of the Edwards-Reynolds factions regarding him as, in a manner, the political legatee of Senator Jesse B. Thomas, placed in opposition to him one Robert Zimmer, of whom nothing whatever is now known.

For the first time John Reynolds and Adam W. Snyder were candidates in the same campaign, not as antagonists, however, but nominally on the same ticket, for different offices. The impetuous contest of Reynolds and Kinney for the Governorship overshadowed, indeed almost entirely eclipsed, all others for minor offices that year; yet, the day of widely circulating daily papers not having then dawned, aspirants of all grades, who chose to address the people "on the issues of the day," could always depend on having interested and attentive audiences. In his new role of office-seeker, Mr. Snyder delivered his first political speech in the French language to his earliest Illinois friends, at Cahokia, in the spring

of 1830. He spoke at pubic meetings at a few other points in the county in the course of the spring and early summer; but, as he was so generally well known, and had but nominal opposition, he found it unnecessary to expend any unusual exertion to secure his election.

By the census of 1830 Illinois was shown to have a population of 157,447, and had 51 organized counties. The settlements then extended as far north as Peoria, and a few adventurous pioneers had squatted, from 30 to 75 miles apart, along the Illinois River to the vicinity of Chicago, and at about equal intervals along the Mississippi from Alton to Galena. There were scattered settlements on the Military Tract between Pekin and Quincy and farther south, but on north to Wisconsin, between the Illinois and Mississippi, the prairie was unmarked save by a few trails leading to the Galena lead mines.

At the election on the 2d of August, 1830, 12,937 votes were cast for Reynolds, and 9,039 for Kinney, a majority of 3,899 for the Old Ranger. Zadock Casey, of Jefferson county, a Methodist minister who ran on the Kinney ticket for Lieutenant Governor, was elected, defeating Ridgon B. Slocumb, the Reynolds candidate. The Whigs generally voted for Reynolds; or, as some of them explained, they did not vote *for* Reynolds, but *against* Kinney. Gen'l Duncan was re-elected to Congress as *the* Jackson ("whole hog") candidate, receiving 13,032 votes to 4,659 for Sidney Breese, and 3,397 for ex-Gov. Coles, anti-Jackson.

In St. Clair county Mr. Snyder was elected to the State Senate, receiving all the votes polled for that office

but 92. In that county William G. Brown and Jacob Ogle were elected representatives, and John D. Hughes, sheriff.

That Mr. Snyder had not before sought office seems strange; and yet more strange that it was with much reluctance he at length yielded to the solicitations of his friends and neighbors to become a candidate for the State Senate when there was no doubt of his election. Probably he had not yet discovered his natural aptitude for public life, and had resolved to ignore politics and apply his abilities and energies all of his days to the profession of law, and to private business. Or, it may be that he had contemplated entering upon a public career later, when he thought himself better equipped for it by some years of study and self-education, and his financial condition enabled him to do so. But, whatever reason may have induced him to remain in retirement for the ten years after his marriage, seems to have become inoperative after his election to the Senate, in 1830; for he thereafter was—in office-seeker's parlance—"in the hands of his friends." The ten years intervening since he was admitted to the bar, in 1820, were the busiest, and, in many respects, the most profitable of his life. In that time he accumulated a fine library, much valuable property, and a more valuable fund of learning and knowledge, that fitted him for the honorable stations to which he was subsequently called, and to still higher honors possibly in store for him had his physical health been commensurate with his ambition and mental force.

On November 12th, 1830, David J. Baker, of Kaskaskia, a native of Connecticut, who came to Illinois in 1819—was appointed U. S. Senator, by Gov. Edwards, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Senator McLean,

to serve until the successor of McLean was elected by the legislature.

Upon organization of the seventh general assembly at Vandalia, on the 6th of December, 1830, Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., a nephew of Judge Jesse B. Thomas, late U. S. Senator—a lawyer residing at Edwardsville, was chosen secretary of the Senate, and William Lee D. Ewing, of Vandalia, was elected Speaker of the house.

Mr. Snyder was detained at home by sickness in his family and pressing business engagements, so that he did not appear at Vandalia to take his seat in the Senate until the 28th of December. After taking the prescribed oath he was added, by the presiding officer, Lieut. Gov. Casey, to the standing committees on Judiciary and Internal Improvements.

In his inaugural message, Gov. Reynolds recommended legislation for promotion of education, and for internal improvements, including completion of the canal, the building of highways to connect distant parts of the State, completion of the penitentiary, and settling up the affairs of the old State bank. That message was, in great part, the production of Gov. Edwards, and called attention of the legislature especially to the new doctrine of State ownership of its soil, with the assurance that he (Reynolds) was "satisfied that this State, in right of its sovereignty and independence, is the rightful owner of the land within its limits."

As was the case with his two predecessors, Governors Coles and Edwards, Gov. Reynolds soon discovered that he was not in accord with the legislature. A majority of the members of both houses were supporters of Kinney, and were so familiarly acquainted with the Old Ranger that they could not regard him seriously as the chief executive of the State and entertain for him the

respect and deference due the exalted position. Among the Senators especially, his serio-comic simplicity and assumed humility, and his lack of dignity and manhood made him the butt of many coarse jests; and they manifested their contempt for his authority by refusing to confirm his appointments, and treating his recommendations with indifference.

Mr. Snyder commenced his legislative duties immediately on taking his seat, by asking leave to present the petition of Dr. Joseph Green, of St. Clair county, for relief, which, on motion of Conrad Will, was referred to a special committee of three, Will, Snyder and Conway, appointed by the presiding officer. The specific relief prayed for by Dr. Green is now lost to history, but was probably granted. The new sphere in which Mr. Snyder found himself seemed well suited to his cast of mind, and he began at once to participate in the proceedings of the Senate without restraint or diffidence, or any sense of inferiority. He was a ready and pleasant speaker, with decided taste for discussion and debate, particularly of public questions. His courteous and agreeable manners, and friendly, social disposition favorably impressed his associates in the Senate chamber who were not long in recognizing his force and capability.

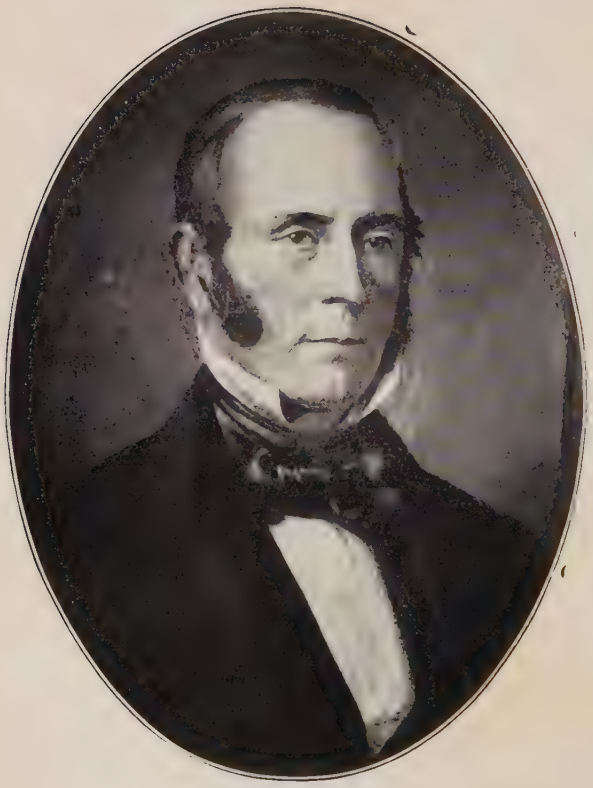
But for obligations incurred by the State as sponsor for its old broken bank, its finances were in comparatively sound condition. On Dec. 1st, 1830, there was a balance in the treasury of $32.404. The State was indebted for outstanding auditor's warrants $11,516, and for school fund warrants $28,283. There was due the State from delinquent non-resident tax-payers, $11,600; from Abner Field, late treasurer, $12,516; for rents of the Gallatin salines $5,866, and from sheriffs on judgments, $805. The annual revenues of the State from all sources reach-

ed $45,000, and annual current expenses averaged about $42,000.

Hon. David J. Baker, appointed Senator temporarily, by Gov. Edwards, was not in sympathy with the Kinney element of the legislature, consequently, that body hastened to come together at the earliest convenient date to relieve him by electing Mr. McLean's successor. In joint session, on the 11th of December, Elias K. Kane was elected his own successor on the first ballot. The name of Gov. Edwards was not even mentioned, as a candidate. For McLean's successor, John M. Robinson, of White county, was elected on the fifth ballot, with 34 votes, to 15 for Thomas Mather. The only civil office Mr. Robinson ever held prior to his elevation to the Senate was that of Prosecuting Attorney. He had been commissioned a Brigadier General of militia some years before. He was a native of Kentucky, born in 1794, and came to Illinois in 1817. He was a lawyer, and regarded as one of the ablest in southeastern Illinois. He was six feet, four inches tall, with erect, soldier-like bearing, fine features, and was an eloquent speaker. It is somewhat remarkable that, with few exceptions, the men who gained prominence in the early government of the State were tall, of large stature and attractive appearance. Daniel P. Cook, slender and effeminate, was one of the few exceptions. Gov. Ford, another exception, who was scarcely five and a half feet high, thin and homely, with long nose turned at the point a little to one side, commenting upon the fact above stated, says: "Edwards was a large, well-made man, with a noble, princely appearance, which was a circumstance greatly in his favor as a governor over a rude people, of whom it may be said, that the animal greatly preponderated over the intellectual man. In fact, it may well be questioned

whether mankind will ever become so intellectual and spiritual that mere size, vigor of muscle, and consequent animal spirits, will cease to have more influence with the multitude than mere intellect unaided by those fleshly advantages."*

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 63.



GENERAL JAMES SEMPLE.

CHAPTER V.

The Wiggins Loan—State entitled to three Congressmen—The Whipping Post and Pillory abolished—Winter of the Deep Snow—The State borrows $20,000 to pay current expenses—First campaign of the Black Hawk War—The Indians reappear in 1832—Two thousand volunteers are put in the field—Mr. Snyder's fight with Indians at Burr Oak Grove.

The Senatorial elections disposed of, the legislature grappled with the serious problem of devising means for redemption of the outstanding notes of the old State bank. That duty had been evaded and postponed upon various pretexts by former legislatures whose members could devise no solution of the matter but by increasing the public debt; or increasing direct taxes on property. Either horn of that dilemma, if adopted, would incite the wrath of the people, and consequently relegate the members who voted for it to the tomb of the Capulets—so to speak. The bank charter had expired by limitation, and settlement of its affairs could no longer be deferred. After discussion of every phase of the question, a bill was finally passed authorizing the loan, upon the faith of the State, of $100,000 to meet, in part, the losses of the bank. The money was secured of Mr. Wiggins, of Cincinnati, and became famous in the financial history of the State as "the Wiggins loan." And it was long a nightmare and terror to a large class of people, who charged that the legislature had sold the State outright to Wiggins, as so enormous a sum, they imagined, could never be repaid by Illinois. Many members of the legislature were sorely embarrassed to contrive suitable apologies and explanations to their constituents to justify their action, and a goodly number of them were never heard of again in public life. "The honor of the

State was saved, the legislature was damned for all time to come."*

An animated contest occurred in joint session for election of a state treasurer to succeed Judge Hall who was himself a candidate for re-election. He was anti-Jackson; but in the paper he edited at Vandalia he had ably and strenuously advocated the election of Kinney. He was opposed by John Dement, a "whole hog" Jackson man, who, however, had worked and voted for Reynolds. Enough Kinney members were finally won over to elect Dement, which was claimed a great victory for the Reynolds administration.

The seventh general assembly re-apportioned the State for representation upon the basis of the census of 1830, whereby Illinois was found to be entitled to three Congressmen, and the legislative representation was increased to 26 Senators and 55 representatives. It also amended the criminal law by abolishing the whipping post and pillory modes of punishment and substituting therefor imprisonment in the penitentiary at hard labor.

Mr. Snyder is shown, by the Senate journal of that session, to have been one of the busiest, most attentive and most influential members of that body. He was never absent, and voted on all measures proposed. He voted for the Wiggins loan, and, on returning to the people who elected him, defended the loan as the wisest course that could have been pursued under existing conditions. He opposed a bill introduced for establishing another State bank. On the 6th of January, 1831, he submitted a *Resolution* requesting "the Governor to correspond with any person, or persons, to ascertain if a loan of $20,000 can be obtained for the State, at a rate

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 107.

of interest not to exceed 6 per cent. per annum, and at a credit of not more than ten years; so as to have said money at the seat of government of this State at the close of the present general assembly to defray current expenses. And that the Governor report the result to the legislature." That resolution, indicating unmistakably the emptiness of the State treasury, was, of course, adopted unanimously by both houses, and the Governor reported before adjournment that he had succeeded in borrowing the sum specified.

On January 11, 1831, "Governor Reynolds sent a special message to the legislature conveying the information that "the Indians had committed outrages and injuries on citizens on the northwest boundary of the State," and asked that authority be given him "to call out a sufficient force to protect the settlers, enforce administration of the law and remove the offending Indians from the territory they had some time ago sold to the government." The message and accompanying papers were, on motion of Mr. Snyder, referred to the committee on military affairs, who soon reported, and a bill was passed giving the Governor plenary power to repel the Indian raid.

A bill introduced by Mr. Snyder, and passed, embodying the then novel principle, now generally recognized, of municipal control of corporations, provided the granting of power to the county court of St. Clair county to regulate the rates for ferriage charged by the Wiggins Ferry Company which was an unavoidable monopoly as merciless in its extortionate charges as is the Chicago stockyard monopoly of today. Acts were passed authorizing individuals named to "lay out" roads and build bridges in various parts of the State. The Counties of

Cook, Effingham, La Salle, Rock Island and Jasper were organized, the latter two having less than 400 inhabitants each. On the 16th of February, 1831, the seventh general assembly adjourned after a session of 72 days.

That winter was the severest yet experienced by the settlers of Illinois, and is memorable in the annals of the State, as "the winter of the deep snow." The weather was unusually mild all fall and on to Christmas eve, Dec. 24th, 1830, when snow began falling and continued to fall at intervals for nine weeks, attaining an uniform depth of three feet four inches. It was drifted by force of wind, in some localities to several feet more, filling lanes and covering fences, and, in some instances, burying beneath it small log cabins with their inmates. Rain fell and froze, forming a crust of ice on the snow's surface strong enough to bear a man's weight. The snow remained on the ground until late in March, 1831, with severely cold weather, the temperature often falling several degrees below zero. Many quails, rabbits, and other birds and small quadrupeds perished from the effects of cold and starvation. Deer and turkeys and flocks of prairie chickens invaded the corn fields and fed upon such corn in the shock as was accessible to them; but became so emaciated from want of sufficient food as no longer to tempt the human instinct for merciless slaughter. The deep snow and protracted cold caused much suffering and privation among many of the settlers who were illy prepared for such an unexpected visitation.

It was fortunate for the exhausted State treasury that firewood was abundant and convenient at Vandalia. The Auditor's report states that 78 cords of wood were consumed in heating the State House during the session of the legislature, costing $1.75 per cord.

In 1804 a Sac Indian murdered a white man not far from Rock Island, and was arrested by the Indian agent and sent to St. Louis and there confined in jail. Four of the principal Sac chiefs proceeded to St. Louis to try to effect his release. They were cordially received by the agents of the government there and royally entertained. They were promised that the culprit would be set at liberty, and were loaded with presents and liberally plied with fire water. Then a treaty was proposed to them, which they signed on November 3d, by which they ceded to the United States all their lands in Illinois lying between the Mississippi and Illinois rivers and extending from the mouth of Rock River to the northern State boundary, about 50,000,000 acres, in consideration of an annual payment to the tribe in perpetuity by the United States of $1,000. The government further agreed to permit the Sacs to hunt upon that ceded territory until incoming settlers should need it, when the President would give them notice to leave it. To much of that district ceded by the Sacs they perhaps had no title, as the Winnebagos occupied all of it between Rock River and the Mississippi above the Prophet's towns forty miles from the junction of the two streams, and the Pottawatomies were located for some distance west of the Illinois river from its mouth to its source.

Consequently, the Sacs retained peaceable possession of the lands they had sold until the ever-advancing tide of civilization demanded their removal. Reluctantly they yielded to the President's positive order in 1830 and removed to the extensive reservation allotted to them on the western side of the Mississippi. There the extraordinary fall of snow and rigorous weather of the winter following, rendering hunting and fishing impracticable, reduced them to the verge of starvation. In the spring

of 1831 Black Hawk and his band recrossed the Mississippi and returned to their old village, Saukenuk, three miles south of Rock Island. They came back for food, to hunt, and raise corn, which some of the squaws commenced to plant. They found their village partly destroyed and the detested white settlers in possession of their fields. They ordered the white intruders away, and attempted to enforce their order by tearing the clapboard roofs from the cabins of the trespassers, throwing down their fences, and killing their stock. It was then, in April and May, the panic stricken settlers sent to Gov. Reynolds for protection. In response to their appeals the Governor issued a call for 700 men to rendezvous at Beardstown, on the Illinois river, and thence proceed to Rock Island. At the same time he sent information of the Indian "outbreak" to Gen'l Gaines, commander of the U. S. troops at Jefferson Barracks, and also to Gen'l Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis, and asked their co-operation in efforts to eject the Indians from the State, peaceably if possible.

The Governor's call for volunteers was answered in a few days by 2,000 hardy patriots, mounted, armed, and eager for Indian scalps. At Beardstown, and a camp near Rushville, they were divided into two regiments, an odd battalion and a spy battalion. James D. Henry was elected Colonel of one of the regiments and Daniel Leib, Colonel of the other. Major Nathaniel Buckmaster was placed in command of the odd battalion, and Major Sam Whiteside of the spys, all under Gen'l Joseph Duncan as Brigadier General.

That motley mob left the vicinity of Rushville on the 1st of June for the seat of war accompanied by Gov. Reynolds as Commander-in-chief, and his staff. In the

meantime Gen'l Gaines had reached Fort Armstrong some days before with six companies of U. S. infantry and met the volunteers—he traveling by steamboat—eight miles below the mouth of Rock River, and there they all remained over night. The next morning, June 25th, the combined forces, aggregating about 2,500 men, moved up Rock River, on the south side, to Vandruff's Island where they expected to find the enemy in force. Gen'l Gaines proceeded with his boat to the foot of the island and fired upon its vine-matted, brushy surface several rounds of grape shot. Just then Gov. Reynolds, Commander-in-chief of the Illinois forces, was suddenly taken sick and going aboard the boat, went to bed.

After the grape shot exercise Gen'l Duncan's militia crossed over to the island and groping their way through the tangled bushes discovered no enemy. They then crossed Rock River higher up at a ford, and charged upon Saukenuk the ancient Sac village, only to find it deserted; the noble sons and daughters of the forest, three or four hundred strong, having slipped out during the night across the Mississippi and camped twelve miles below. Gov. Reynolds recovered; and the volunteers, disappointed and vexed, wreaked their vengeance upon the vacant huts by reducing them to ashes.

In obedience to a peremptory demand by Gen'l Gaines, in a few days Black Hawk with twenty-seven of the principal warriors of his band, came to Fort Armstrong, and there made a treaty with Gen'l Gaines and Gov. Reynolds, in which they solemnly agreed that they would return to the west side of the river, and not again recross it without permission of the President; that they would exclude British agents from their tribe, and would permit the United States to build forts and establish post routes in their reservation on the west side.

In return, the United States would guarantee to the Sacs and Foxes and their allies permanent and peaceable possession of their western lands. A quantity of corn and other provisions was then given to the dusky warriors, who retired to the west side, and the volunteers wre mustered out of service and returned to their homes. Thus ended the first, and bloodless, campaign of the famous Black Hawk war.

A friend of the British, entertaining the bitterest hatred for the despoilers of his village and fields and hunting grounds, Black Hawk left Fort Armstrong in a sulky mood, dissatisfied and meditating future vengeance.

Foiled in his purpose and humiliated he proceeded with his warriors up the river and attacked a party of twenty-eight Menominees encamped on an island opposite Prairie du Chien, and killed them all but one, who made his escape. Those Indians, with some Sioux, had the year before attacked the Sacs, but were friendly to the whites, and were then under protection of the United States garrison near that place. After the massacre, Gen'l Street, the Indian Agent, made a formal demand upon Black Hawk to deliver to the commander of Fort Crawford the murderers of the Menominees, to which the haughty old warrior returned an answer of contempt and defiance.

After making the treaty with Black Hawk at Fort Armstrong, Gov. Reynolds accompanied Gen'l Gaines, by boat, to St. Louis, and from there returned to his home at Cahokia. He then changed his place of residence to Belleville, having had that removal in contemplation for some time. There was then no law requiring the Governor of the State to reside at the State capital,

and he remained there during the sessions of the legislature only, for convenience in conducting public business and from choice.

Relieved of all apprehension of further molestation by the Indians, the frontier settlers replanted their corn and cultivated it, and in the fall gathered their crops, and passed the following winter in security and comfort.

Upon adjournment of the legislature, in February, 1831, Mr. Snyder returned to his farm, well satisfied with the course he had pursued as a public servant, and also well content to remain at home henceforth, and give to his business and his family his entire attention. With renewed enthusiasm he resumed his professional labors to make up the time lost at Vandalia, and success rewarded his diligence. He was, however, strongly inclined to offer his services as a soldier, when the Governor called for volunteers; but the demands of his clients, his personal interests and the welfare of his family compelled him to check his patriotic ardor and forego the "bubble reputation."

The winter of 1831-32 was comparatively mild and pleasant, and was passed by the people in unusual quietude, without Indian alarms, and free from the din and wrangling of a political campaign, or the annoyance of a session of the legislature. It was followed by an early and propitious spring, with most encouraging indications of continued peace and prosperity. Business in every branch of industry was buoyant. Farmers everywhere were busy preparing their lands for sowing and planting, when suddenly the country was again startled by reports of another Indian invasion similar to that of the spring before, but of far greater magnitude.

On the 6th of April, 1832, Black Hawk, with his band

of 400 warriors and their squaws and children, regardless of his solemn promise of the year before, crossed the Mississippi and re-occupied his old village site below Rock Island, creating consternation and alarm among the settlers there. That violation of the stipulations of his treaty made with Gen'l Gaines and Gov. Reynolds, Black Hawk afterwards attempted to excuse by stating that he merely desired to pass through Illinois to join his friends, the Winnebagos, in Wisconsin Territory, and there raise a crop of corn during the summer, when he would again return to the west.

Discussion of Black Hawk's motives and intentions; or arguments for or against justification of his action; or sketches of his personal history and antecedents, are obviously beyond the scope of this memoir. Nor will its limits permit a detailed account of the famous "war" that followed his second return to the State. However, a briefly-stated outline of the course, management and results of hostilities caused by his invasion is unavoidable in these pages in order to maintain the integrity of historical sequences within the stated period embraced between the years 1817 and 1842.*

There is little doubt that Black Hawk had received from the Winnebagos east of the Mississippi encouragement, if not definite promises, of their aid in his design to regain possession of his old village, where he was born and had passed all his life, and of his fields, and graves of his ancestors near by. And that aid would probably have been rendered him willingly but for the prompt call of Gov. Reynolds, and the overwhelming

*For full and reliable details of Black Hawk's career, and of the manner of his final expulsion from Illinois, the reader is referred to the able and exhaustive work of Frank E. Stevens, entitled The Black Hawk War, the most accurate and complete history of that noted Indian warrior, and the times in which he figured, yet written.

number of volunteers who quickly responded to it. Gen'l Henry Atkinson, of the regular army, had recently arrived at Fort Armstrong with 400 U. S. infantry for the purpose of enforcing Col. Street's demand upon Black Hawk to deliver to him the Indians of his band who had, the summer before, murdered the twenty-seven Menominees on the island near Fort Crawforrd. On learning that the Indians had crossed over to this side, Gen'l Atkinson hurriedly despatched a letter to Gov. Reynolds, informing him of the presence of hostile Indians on Rock River, and stating, "The regular force under my command is too small to justify me in pursuing the hostile party," with a request to the Governor to come to his aid with Illinois militia.

On the 16th of April, Gov. Reynolds published a call for "a strong detachment of militia," to rendezvous at Beardstown within six days. The patriots heard the call and came from all quarters, and from every station of life; some afoot, but the greater number on horseback, bringing their blankets and such arms and accoutrements as they had at hand. Before expiration of the six days 1,935 able bodied men were assembled at Beardstown ready for active service. They were as speedily as possible divided into four regiments, an odd battalion and a spy battalion, under command of Samuel Whiteside as Brigadier General. In addition, the Governor accepted two independent mounted battalions of 200 each, one commanded by Major Josiah Stillman, the other by Major David Bailey, and assigned them specially to guard the settlements between the Illinois and Rock rivers. As in the first campaign, the Governor as Commander-in-chief accompanied "the boys," with a full staff of Colonels, as follows: Cols. J. T. B. Stapp and

James M. Chadwick, aides; Col. Sam Christy, of St. Louis, commissary general; Col. William Thomas, of Jacksonville, quartermaster general; Col. James Turney, paymaster general; Col. Vital Jarrott, adjutant general; Col. Cyrus Edwards, chief ordnance officer, and Rev. Reddick Horn, chaplain. The Colonel of the first regiment was John De Witt; of the second, Jacob Fry; of the third, John Thomas, and of the fourth, Samuel M. Thompson. The odd battalion was led by Major Nathaniel Buckmaster, and the spys by Major John D. Henry.

Thus began the second campaign of the Black Hawk war; without plan or system, with no conception of discipline or subordination, the volunteers regarded the expedition as merely a pleasant outing at the State's expense. Illustrative of the Commander-in-chief's ideas of military regulations, the following instance is related by Bonham, in his sketch of Gov. Reynolds.* "Our school teacher, Charles Henderson, who had taught our country school for three winters in Ohio, emigrated to Illinois in the spring of 1832. He came on horseback; arrived just at the time when enlistments were being made and men were being hurried forward to the place of rendezvous. He became a 'camp follower;' came up with the army at Beardstown, was presented to the Governor, told him that he came to see the country, and if there was any service he could render, himself and horse were at the service of the State. 'Yes,' said the Governor, 'I can take you as a volunteer aide; we want a good many of that kind now.' 'Well, Governor, that will suit me,' said Charley; 'What are the duties of the position?' 'Well,' said the Governor, 'go along, feed your horse from the subsistence department, yourself at my quarters, assist me some with my writing, help the quartermaster and

* Fifty years' Recollections. By Jeremiah Bonham, Peoria, 1883, p. 37.

commissary when they call on you, and when we get to where there is any fighting to be done, pitch in and fight like hell.'"

Fleeing settlers came into Beardstown daily, reporting the Indians moving rapidly up the valley of Rock River, laying the country waste as they went. Instead of proceeding by forced marches to Peoria, thence north to intercept them, the Governor led his army to the Yellow Banks on the Mississippi, fifty miles below Rock Island. The spring was unusually backward, cold and wet; the streams had overflowed their banks; the ground was watersoaked and muddy, and worse than all, the men had scarcely anything to eat. Men and horses had to swim Henderson river, and while rafting the wagons over it, two of them and a horse were lost. Arriving at the Yellow Banks, with provisions exhausted, the volunteers well-nigh fasted for three days, when the steamboat William Wallace arrived from St. Louis loaded with provisions. The army then moved up to Rock Island and joined General Atkinson, where, on the 7th of May, the Illinois militiamen were mustered into the service of the United States. On the same day Colonel Zachary Taylor, with 300 U. S. infantry and a detachment of artillery arrived from Fort Crawford and reported for service to General Atkinson. On the 9th of May, the consolidated army, 3,300 strong, under command of General Atkinson, started up Rock River in pursuit of the Indians, the regulars, artillery and infantry in keel boats, and the volunteers on land. Although the volunteers had been mustered into the service of the United States and were part of the U. S. army, and Reynolds was no longer in authority, he and his staff of Colonels continued "along with the boys" the greater part of the campaign, for which time they were paid by the general

government, the Governor receiving the pay of a Major General in the regular army, and each member of his staff the pay of a Colonel.

General Atkinson ordered the volunteers to halt at Prophetstown and there await his arrival with the boats and artillery; but, thirsting for glory, or rest, and unaccustomed to obeying orders, "the boys" burned Prophetstown and went on forty miles farther to Dixon's Ferry. The first opportunity for military renown offered to the Illinoisans occurred at the head of Old Man's Creek, since known as "Stillman's Run"—twelve miles from Dixon's Ferry. Rumors of the presence of Indians in that vicinity having reached the camp, Major Stillman asked permission to go out there and reconnoitre; whereupon Governor Reynolds* issued an order, dated Dixon's Ferry, May 12th, to Major Stillman, "to proceed without delay to the head of Old Man's Creek, where it is supposed there are some hostile Indians, and coerce them into submission."

Next morning early Major Stillman, with 275 men, left the army and started on his mission of coercion. On the evening of the 14th as he was going into camp for the night on Old Man's Creek, with everything in confusion, and no camp guards or pickets detailed, three unarmed Indians bearing a white flag came to them. While they were trying to make themselves understood, five armed Indians appeared on the ridge a mile off in the prairie, evidently awaiting return of the bearers of the white flag.

Immediately, without orders or leader, a number of the volunteers mounted their horses not yet unsaddled, and rushed across the prairie after the five Indians who

* Majors Stillman and Bailey not yet having been mustered into the U. S. service were still under the Governor's authority.

retreated, "after displaying a red flag, the emblem of defiance and war; but were overtaken and three of them slain."* The volunteers who had not joined in the pursuit of the five armed Indians, jealous of the success of those who did, in order to get even with them, concluded to kill the three unarmed prisoners who had, trusting to the honor of the whites, come in with the flag of truce. They managed to kill one of them, but the other two escaped in the confusion and darkness.

Black Hawk, with part of his command and a few non-combatant Pottawatomies visiting him, was near by at the mouth of Sycamore Creek. Disappointed and disheartened by refusal of the Winnebagos and Pottawatomies to join him, and aware that he was pursued by a large force, and seeing the utter hopelessness of his raid, he concluded to return to the west side of the Mississippi as expeditiously as possible. Surprised by the arrival at Old Man's Creek of Major Stillman's battalion, which he believed to be the advance guard of General Atkinson's entire army, he sent a white flag by three unarmed warriors to make terms with the General and obtain permission to retire from the State peaceably. The two surviving Indians, hastily retreating from the prairie, closely followed by the yelling, shooting pursuers, alarmed Black Hawk's warriors in camp. Believing their overtures for peace had been rejected and that the whole army of the whites was moving upon them, they snatched up their arms and hurriedly mounting their ponies, boldly dashed out into the prairie to meet their assailants. Surprised at the numbers and impetuosity of the red enemy emerging from the brush, the pursuing, exultant party of volunteers wheeled their horses

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 118.

and fled for their lives. Like a tempest they swept through the disordered camp of their comrades shouting to them to follow and save themselves if possible. Panic-stricken, the militiamen stood not on the order of their going, but mounting their tired horses they left for Dixon's Ferry in a tumultuous rout, with the Indians yelling like demons, in hot pursuit.

Capt. John G. Adams, of Tazewell county, and less than a dozen other brave, cool-headed men, who had not lost their wits or their courage, made a gallant attempt to rally their fleeing comrades and induce them to make an effort to repel the Indian attack. In the rear of the frightened, flying host, they gallantly stood and met the enemy, only to be mercilessly butchered by the furious, victorious savages.

Darkness having fortunately set in favored the flight of the coercionists, and in a little more than an hour the swiftest of them dashed into headquarters at Dixon's Ferry, and from that on until early dawn they straggled in, each new arrival reporting that all the balance were massacred and scalped. In that disgraceful and humiliating affair the Indians engaged numbered about fifty, and of Stillman's battalion of 275 men, eleven were killed and two wounded, and all of his camp equipage was lost. Very early next morning General Whiteside, with two regiments of mounted men, repaired to the scene of the disaster, but no Indians could be found. The bodies of the eleven dead, scalped and horribly mutilated soldiers were gathered up and buried in one large grave in the prairie where they fell,* and the General and his men returned to Dixon's Ferry.

* That unmarked grave was discovered in 1900, and probably contains the remains of Capt. Adams and the eight valiant men who fell by his side in their vain effort to check the Indian advance, namely:

The effect of Stillman's defeat was a marked change in the spirit and temper of both belligerents. The Indians, to that time, had confined their depredations to destroying cabins and fences, and taking such live stock belonging to settlers as they needed for subsistence, but had refrained from killing any of the whites. The cowardly murder of their unarmed bearer of a white flag, and brutal rejection—as they viewed it—of their overtures for permission to leave the State peaceably, inflamed their resentment, and their easy victory over a vastly superior force emboldened them to seek revenge for their slain warriors. They divided into small bands to evade pursuit, and scattered in different directions over the country, murdering unprotected settlers, burning their cabins, killing their stock and carrying off two young girls, the Misses Hall, who were afterwards ransomed for goods and money amounting to $2,000.

One of their most atrocious murders was that of Felix St. Vrain, Indian agent for the Sacs and Foxes at Rock Island. General Atkinson sent him with a few men to take despatches to Fort Armstrong, on the 22d of May. On the way Mr. St. Vrain met a party of Indians led by a chief named Little Bear, with whom he had for years been on very friendly terms. That chief had adopted him as a brother and had frequently been the recipient of his hospitality at the agency. Without warning, the

Sergeant John Walters, Corporal Bird W. Ellis, Tyrus M. Childs, Joseph B. Farris, all four from Fulton County; Isaac Perkins, David Kreeps, Zadok Mendinall, of Tazewell County, and Corporal James Milton, of Decatur. Three other soldiers were slain in attempting to escape, Joseph Draper, James Doty, and Gideon Munson, a government accut.

The Illinois legislature in 1901 appropriated $5,000 for a monument to commemorate the valor of Capt. Adams and those who with him sacrificed their lives in the manly discharge of their duty. A beautiful shaft was set in place near the prairie grave so long forgotten, at Stillman Valley, and unveiled, with impressive ceremonies, on June 11th, 1902.

treacherous Indians fell upon the little party of whites and killed and scalped them all.*

The loss and scalping of Stillman's eleven men, instead of firing the militia with a spirit of vengeance, as was the case with the Indians, exerted upon the majority of them an opposite effect. Without training or discipline, at best but a half-organized rabble, they became completely demoralized and clamored to go home, claiming that their term of enlistment was about expired, that their crops and business at home demanded their attention, that they were dissatisfied with their commanding officers, that they did not enlist to chase Indians through the swamps of Wisconsin, and for various other reasons demanded their discharge from the service. They were, in fact, disappointed in their anticipations of a pleasant picnic or spree, with pay and rations; were tired of their hard fare, and not certain about the safety of their scalps. For the Commander-in-chief's prowess and military ability they entertained no respect whatever, and General Sam Whiteside, renowned as a dauntless bushranger and hand-to-hand Indian fighter, proved an utter failure as commander of a brigade. He

* Gen. George W. Jones, ex-U. S. Senator, etc., writing from Dubuque, Iowa, to Mrs. George W. Smith (of Chicago), granddaughter of Senator Elias K. Kane, Nov. 24, 1894, said: "And I can never forget that it was entirely through the potential influence and warm personal friendship of Senator E. K. Kane who procured the appointment of Agent of the Sac and Fox nations of Indians at Rock Island for my deceased brother-in-law, Felix St. Vrain; so we all feel great obligations. My dear accomplished brother-in-law was murdered by a war party of the Sac and Fox Indians, near Buffalo Grove, in Illinois, in the spring, and early commencement of the Black Hawk war. Four or five other men were also killed at the same time, and it was I who found the mangled body of Mr. St. Vrain three or four days after the massacre. His head, hands and feet were cut off his body, and the most of his flesh, which the famishing Indians ate. His heart was also cut out of his body, and cut up into small pieces and given to their young men and boys to swallow; he to be adjudged to make the best warrior who would swallow the largest piece without chewing. His head, hands and feet were used in their war dances as trophies of war."

knew nothing of military tactics, and made no effort to assert control of his men.

Many of the men had already gone home without leave, and many more were openly preparing to follow them. Convinced that men in that dispirited frame of mind were unreliable, and valueless for efficient service, General Atkinson ordered them all discharged, and they were mustered out of service at Dixon's Ferry and Ottawa on the 27th and 28th of May, 1832. The disaffected among them left immediately to enjoy the genial comforts of their homes, but many who had enlisted from patriotic—or political—motives, or instigated merely by love of adventure, remained to again respond to the call of Governor Reynolds, that he immediately issued, for 2,000 more volunteers.

The first to re-enlist were at once formed into a regiment of cavalry to protect the exposed settlers until the larger force, collecting at Beardstown and Hennepin, could be equipped, organized and put in the field. The officers chosen for that thirty-day police regiment were Jacob Fry, Colonel; James D. Henry, Lieutenant Colonel; and John Thomas, Major. The seven companies constituting the regiment elected for their Captains, Samuel Smith, Benjamin James, Elijah Iles, Adam W. Snyder, Alexander C. Cox, William C. Ball and Alexander White. In reorganization of the volunteer army—under the last call—many changes were effected in the relative positions of officers and men. At the first call of the Governor for troops (April, 1832) Mr. Snyder enlisted as a private in Captain John Winstanley's company, and served in that capacity and subsequently as Adjutant of the regiment, until all were mustered out in May. In the organization of the second army, Mr. Snyder was

elected Captain, and Captain John Winstanley was chosen first lieutenant of his company. The late Brigadier General Sam Whiteside was a private in the same company, along with Joseph Gillespie, James Semple, Benjamin Stephenson, Henry H. West, George D. Kinney, Francis Jarrott and John Thomas, lately a Colonel, and shortly after promoted to Major of the regiment. Among the many other changes, Abraham Lincoln, a Captain in the first army, was a private of Captain Iles' company in the second.

The new levy of volunteers rendezvoused at Fort Welbourn on the Illinois river, near Peru, in LaSalle county, and there, on June 15th, were formed into three brigades of three regiments each, with a spy battalion attached to each. Alexander Posey was elected General of the first brigade, Milton Alexander of the second, and James D. Henry of the third. The first brigade comprised 1,000 men; the second 950 and the third 1,032. Five additional companies from Putnam and Vermilion counties, and an independent battalion from Wisconsin led by Major Henry Dodge, there joined the army, which, with the U. S. regulars, aggregated over 5,000 men, all under command of General Atkinson.

While awaiting mobilization of the new army the companies of Colonel Fry's regiment were so disposed as best to protect settlements the most exposed, and to escort supply trains and express couriers. When on that duty Captain Snyder was sent to escort Colonel Zachary Taylor from Ottawa to Dixon's Ferry by the following order:

"HEADQUARTERS RIGHT WING, WEST DEPARTMENT,
"Ottawa, 31st May, 1832.

"Capt. A. W. Snyder,

"SIR: You will proceed across the country with your company

to Dixon's Ferry, in company with Colonel Taylor, by easy marches, and by throwing out scouts, endeavoring to ascertain whether the hostile Indians are still above the route you are directed to pursue. This information you may probably acquire by examining for trails, their direction and the numbers making them

"On your arrival at Dixon's Ferry, draw, if necessary, provisions for your return march, which you will take up the day after your arrival there. In coming back, make further examinations as respect the hostile Indians, but in doing so avoid a conflict with very superior numbers, as even a very slight success on the part of the enemy would give him greater confidence and an accession of strength.

"It is probable you will be absent four and a half or five days

"[Signed] H. ATKINSON,

"Brig. Genl. U. S. Army."

Having escorted Colonel Zachary Taylor to Dixon's Ferry and returned, "Captain Adam W. Snyder was sent to range through the country between Rock River and Galena,* and whilst he was encamped not far distant from Burr Oak Grove, on the night of the 17th of June, his company was fired upon by the Indians. The next morning he pursued them, four in number, and drove them into a sink hole in the ground, where his company charged on them and killed the whole of the Indians, with the loss of one man mortally wounded. As he returned to his camp, bearing his wounded soldier, the men suffering much from thirst, scattered in search of water, when they were sharply attacked by about seventy Indians, who had been secretly watching their motions, and awaiting a good opportunity. His men, as usual in such cases, were taken by surprise, and some

* From the Galenian of June 20, 1832:

"June 13th—At about 12 m. Col. John Thomas from St. Clair county, Illinois, and Captain A. W. Snyder with about 20 volunteers, came from Gen. Atkinson's headquarters to this place (Galena). They brought intelligence that a move was shortly to be made against the Indians—that two companies of regular troops under command of Major Riley had come to Kellogg's old place to remain till further orders."

of them commenced a hasty retreat. Captain Snyder called upon General Whiteside, then a private in his company, to assist him in forming his men. The General proclaimed in a loud voice that he would shoot the first man who attempted to run. The men were soon formed into ranks. Both parties took position behind trees. Here General Whiteside, an old Indian fighter, and a capital marksman with a rifle, shot the commander of the Indians, and they from that moment began to retreat. As they were not pursued the Indian loss was never ascertained, but the other side lost two men killed and one wounded. Captain Snyder, General Whiteside and Colonel (now General) Semple are particularly mentioned as having behaved in the most honorable and courageous manner in both these little actions."*

Patterson gave, at the time, in the *Galenian*, Dr. Phillaco's paper, substantially the same account of the Burr Oak Grove actions, and added: "Soon after, Major Riley, with a small force of regulars, came up, and after consultation with Captain Snyder, it was deemed best not to follow the retreating Indians, as their route probably led to the main army of Black Hawk."†

Major Riley, here mentioned, belonged to Colonel Zachary Taylor's command of U. S. regulars, then at Dixon's Ferry.

Governor Reynolds, writing to Governor Edwards from Fort Wilbourn, June 22d, 1832, said: "Snyder had a fight with the Indians; lost 3 vols.—Ben. Scott, McDaniel and Macomson, and killed 4 Indians; at least there were 4 killed."§ Twenty-three years later Governor Reynolds, in his autobiography, gave a full detailed

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 124.

† Autobiography of Black Hawk. By J. B. Patterson, Oquawka, Ill., 1882, p. 172.

§ Edwards Papers, p. 590.

†† Life and Times, by John Reynolds, 1855, pp. 377-381.

account of the Burr Oak Grove skirmishes, differing in some material respects from those given by Governor Ford and Mr. Patterson, but accorded most ample credit to "the brave and efficient company under command of equally brave and efficient officers."*

Burr Oak was but another name for Kellogg's Grove. The skirmish with the Indians in that vicinity by a portion of Capt. Snyder's company, unduly colored for political effect in the account given of it by Governor Ford, was in its results an insignificant affair, though serious enough to cause the death of three volunteers. After Capt. Snyder's men were surprised, on their return to camp, by the Indians in ambush, there was really no further fighting, each side remaining at bay watching the other, with firing at long range until the Indians left. No Indian chief was shot by General Whiteside, or, so far as is known, by any one else. From the fact that a white horse on which an Indian, presumably the leader of the band, was mounted, was afterwards seen without a rider, it was inferred that that Indian was killed.

The following account of the skirmish from Mr. Steven's recent *History of the Black Hawk War* is probably as accurate as any yet published:

"On the night of June 15th, the troops were snugly ensconced in the various buildings, after sentinels had been picketed about eighty yards out at different points of the compass around the camp. The night was cloudy and dark, though intermittently illuminated with flashes of lightning, rendering possible a sight of the surroundings during those periods. Near midnight the presence of the enemy was detected by a sentinel, who, in the instantaneous period allowed him, attempted to run the Indian through with his bayonet, so close had he

* Life and Times, by John Reynolds, 1855, pp. 377-381.

crawled, but the flash of light was so brief that the sentinel missed his mark and only rubbed the Indian's arm. Dropping his gun, the sentinel clinched with his adversary, and by reason of superior strength was rapidly mastering him, and would soon have had him prisoner but for another flash which discovered two other Indians within twenty feet, making for the rescue as rapidly as the impenetrable darkness would permit. Quickly releasing his antagonist, the sentinel ran to camp, shouting 'Indians! Indians!' while the Indians pursued him as far as they dared. With a shot into the darkness they turned and fled, leaving the men in camp to lie on their arms after that until morning.

"From the fact that one horse was stolen during the night, color was given to the theory that plunder was the sole aim of the enemy's presence, but events of the following day exploded it.

"Early in the morning, Captain Snyder took a detachment of men and pursued the enemy's trail in a southwesterly direction, hoping to overtake and punish him before escape was possible. For twenty miles it was followed in vain, but Capt. Snyder would not permit it to be abandoned, and wise indeed was his decision, for, after a few more rods of travel, the detachment came upon four of the Indians preparing a meal in a deep ravine just ahead. Flight by them in a circuitous, backtrack, manner was instantly taken, which nearly baffled the troops, but after another weary but exciting chase, they were again discovered half a mile ahead climbing a high hill within three miles of camp at Kellogg's Grove. The troops were delayed in their pursuit by a deep and muddy creek, but on finally crossing it discovered the Indians firmly intrenched in a deep gulch, where in a sharp hand-to-hand encounter all four were killed, with

loss to the whites of one man, private William B. Mecomson (or Mekemson), who received two balls in the abdomen, inflicting a mortal wound. While the engagement lasted it was as fierce and wicked a frontier fight as has ever been recorded, and in the many shots exchanged by the Indians, the marvel is that the loss to the whites was no greater. But poor Mecomson received the only effective ones.

"A litter was constructed of poles and blankets, upon which the wounded man was placed, and carried by his comrades, he was conveyed toward camp. In ministering to his needs, his bearers were compelled to deliver their guns and horses to the keeping of others, the exchange and relief causing some delay and a little temporary confusion. Men were necessarily scattered along with no regard for order, the troops were flushed with the first victory of the campaign, and while danger was to be at all times apprehended, having disposed of the enemy, the presence of other Indians was not a very strong probability. Thus the men marched along for three quarters of a mile, when the dying man asked for a brief rest and a cup of water. As no fresh water was carried, two squads were detailed by Captain Snyder to search for some. General Whiteside, First Sergeant Nathan O. Johnson, and Third Sergeant James Taylor went off to one side, while Dr. Richard Roman, Benjamin Scott, Second Corporal Benjamin McDaniel, Dr. Francis Jarrott and Dr. I. M. McTy. Cornelius searched the other side for water with which to quench the dying man's thirst. While the last named squad was moving slowly down a ridge to a point having a bushy ravine on each side, it was fired on by a large party of Indians, instantly killing Benjamin Scott and Benjamin McDaniel

and slightly wounding Dr. Cornelius. The three survivors retreated while the Indians, estimated from 50 to 90 in number, hideously yelling, rushed upon poor Mecomson and chopped off his head with a tomahawk; then, wheeling, they directed their fire upon the main body of the whites, who were somewhat scattered as stated. Closing in as well as possible, the detachment fell back in good order, formed, and returned a brisk fire, which checked the enemy's advance. Quickly following up the advantage gained, Captain Snyder moved rapidly forward, bringing his men at close range with the enemy, and making the engagement general. Trees were many times used for protection. During the thickest of the fight the apparent leader of the Indians, mounted on a white horse, rode backward and forward, urging his men with shouts and gestures, but the intrepid volunteers were pouring lead into the ranks of the Indians with such deadly effect that they were gradually forced back. After a little the white horse was seen leaving the field riderless; at the same time the Indians temporarily wavered, and the whites pushed their line closer. The Indians, having evidently lost their leader, sullenly retired out of range, and Captain Snyder held his advanced position.

Major Thomas had in the meantime volunteered to go, alone, to Kellogg's Grove—less than three miles distant—for reinforcements from Major Riley, and though the trip was perilous in the extreme, he made it safely, returning in an incredibly short time with the reinforcements. When they arrived, Capt. Snyder had driven the Indians to the timber and was anxious to press his advantage, but the lateness of the hour prevented. He then insisted on camping on the spot for the night, that he might pursue his advantage in the morning, but Major

Riley persuaded him to return to camp at Kellogg's, which he reluctantly did, after gathering up the dead for burial the following day.

"Early the following morning, Captain Snyder, with his full company, returned to the scene of the previous day's engagements in search of the enemy, but he was nowhere to be found, and the company at once returned to camp, where it remained a few days longer, by which time the new levies, having been rapidly massed at Dixon's Ferry for the final struggle, Captain Snyder marched to that point and his company was mustered [illegible] of service by Colonel Taylor on the 21st of June."

CHAPTER VI.

The Black Hawk War continued—Capt. Snyder's Company mustered out of service—Major Dement's fight at Kellogg's Grove—March of the army up Rock River—Defection of the Volunteers—Gen'l James D. Henry—Duplicity of the Winnebagos—Black Hawk's trail discovered—He is pursued, and the war ended in his defeat and capture.

The reorganized army having orders to take the field, terminated the period of enlistment of Col. Fry's regiment, and by order of Gen'l Atkinson it was mustered out of service at Dixon's Ferry, on the 21st of June, 1832. Col. Fry and several of his men joined the new army, but the large majority of them, including Capt. Snyder, departed at once for their homes in the southern part of the State. Thus closed Capt. Snyder's military career—enlisting as a private in Capt. Winstanley's company on April 18th, appointed Adjutant of the First Regiment on April 29th, mustered out of service at the mouth of Fox River May 28th, re-enlisted and elected Captain on May 29th, had a fight with Indians on June 15th, and again mustered out on June 21st.

By order of Col. Taylor, Major John Dement and battalion of 150 men, took an outpost position at Kellogg's Grove, where they found a deserted cabin built of heavy logs in three compartments. In the rear were some log stables, and a brush enclosure in which they turned their horses when not in use. Mr. Funk, of McLean county, arriving there, from Galena, in the evening reported having crossed, about five miles from the Grove, the trail of four or five hundred Indians going north. Next morning a few Indians on horseback were seen on a distant elevation in the prairie. As usual, the frenzied volunteers, without orders or leader, mounted their horses and at

full speed scurried across the prairie after fresh Indian scalps. Five of the Major's men, who had no horses, followed afoot, eager to see the fun of a fight or an Indian chase.* Major Dement and Zadok Casey, suspicious of an Indian ambuscade, galloped forward to try to arrest the mad advance of the mob, but utterly failed. The mounted Indians slowly retreated to a ravine overgrown with brush, in the far edge of the prairie where Black Hawk and the greater part of his band were concealed. On went the impetuous heroes until within rifle shot of the thicket,

"When out the hellish legion sallied,"

with terrific yells and whoops, and a volley of bullets. The astonished white men instantly faced about and made speedy tracks for the timber they had just left, with the howling redskins at their heels. But for that log cabin in the Grove the Stillman episode would have been repeated in every disgraceful particular. In vain did Major Dement and Gov. Casey attempt to rally the terrified men to make a stand and check the advancing savages. They might as well have tried to stop a drove of stampeded horses. Reaching the Grove the panic-stricken men hurriedly turned their horses into the brush enclosure, and huddled into the cabin that afforded them the protection of a block house.

The Indians were too wary to attempt carrying the cabin by assault, and circled around it at a respectable distance, firing at the spaces between the logs, and shooting down the horses over the brush fence. The besieged soldiers watched them closely, and returned their fire whenever one chanced to come within range of their rifles. The Indians, in a few hours, saw they were

* Reynolds' Life and Times, p. 389.

getting the worst of the fight, having lost several of their number, and after killing 47 of the volunteers' horses, sullenly withdrew. A few of the besieged soldiers were wounded, but none killed. The five footmen so anxious to see the fun, were, of course, soon overtaken by the Indians, and expeditiously killed and scalped. They were buried next day in one grave, not far from the spot where they sacrificed their lives to their folly.*

Before the swarm of furious naked Indians reached the Grove that morning, Major Dement despatched five messengers on fleet horses to Dixon's Ferry, fifty miles away, for re-enforcements. When the last one of the red enemy was out of sight the Major put out picket guards, and set about strengthening his position, fully expecting renewal of the attack at night. Anticipating that the Indians would attempt at their next visit to burn his "fort," he covered the cabin roof with two hundred blankets saturated with water. But the Indians did not return.

The rout of Stillman's battalion followed by disbanding of the first volunteer force, led the Indians to believe the whites were whipped and had abandoned the war. Its effect upon the people of the State was to raise a storm of indignation and disgust and merciless criticism of all in control of military affairs. Unstinted abuse from every quarter was heaped upon Gov. Reynolds,

* Above account of the five unmounted volunteers is given upon the authority of Gov. John Reynolds, as related in his Life and Times. A different version of the incident, however, was given by Major Dement, who stated that three of his men who had been hunting for their horses that strayed away during the night, were returning to camp afoot when overtaken by the horde of advancing Indians and killed.

The authorities of Stephenson County, some time ago, caused to be erected a handsome monument, thirty-four feet in height, at Kellogg's Grove, in memory of the several white people killed by the Indians within the limits of that county. Among those thus commemorated are three above mentioned of Major Dement's command, and the three of Capt. Snyder's company killed in his skirmish near the Grove, and Mr. Felix St. Vrain.

Commander-in-chief, for his blundering incapacity, very much to his discouragement and uneasiness. In despair, he confided his chagrin to Gov. Edwards, in a letter written at Fort Welbourn, June 22d, as follows: "I wish you to inform my friends that I am 'bullet proof.' I have done right, and care not for slander; that I go in for nothing; that as soon as the storm settles in my favor, which it is compelled to do, I will bid a long farewell to public life and live at home in peace. I am now before the people, I am in for my friends, but you and a few excepted, not one other will write or say one word in my favor. I do not want it, as I care very little about the result."*

The gathering hosts of the second volunteer army convinced Black Hawk that the whites were not conquered, but that *he* might be if he remained in their country much longer. Calling his scattered bands together he commenced a rapid movement to the Wisconsin hills, believing, no doubt, that the Illinois militia would not pursue him beyond the limits of their own State.

Gen'l Atkinson set his new army in motion on the 20th, 21st and 22d of June. Gen'l Posey's brigade, the first to move out, meeting Major Dement's couriers, hurried forward and reached Kellogg's Grove at sunset, having marched fifty miles since morning. Instead of advancing quickly and striking the retreating Indians a decisive blow, the army marched leisurely 75 or 80 miles up Rock River to the Burnt Village and there halted.

Reports of the enemy's trail having been seen farther up the river, or east of it, were brought into camp, emanating chiefly from the company of treacherous Winnebagos who, with loud professions of friendship for the

* Edwards Papers, p. 590.

whites, joined the army at Dixon's Ferry, and were, in fact, cognizant of Black Hawk's plans, and were scheming to aid his escape. Gen'l Atkinson seemed bewildered and undecided, and lost many days in useless reconnoitering. His new army became as thoroughly demoralized as was the first one; and from the first day's march towards Wisconsin began to disintegrate and melt away from wholesale desertions. Of the 3,850 volunteers enrolled at Dixon's Ferry, less than 2,000 answered roll call when the march was resumed from the Burnt Village.

Their abandonment of the service was not due to lack of courage, but altogether to want of discipline and authority. No better material for an army could have been found in the world. They were brave, honorable, patriotic men, strong in physical power of endurance, and inured to the rough usages of frontier life. The most of them were descendants of yeomen who achieved renown at King's Mountain, Monmouth and Yorktown; and whose progeny later proved their heroism and valor at Buena Vista, Chepultepec, Chickamauga and Gettysburg. Unfortunately, the officers in command of the volunteers —with some sterling exceptions—from the Commander-in-chief down, were professional politicians, office-holders and office-seekers, profoundly ignorant of the military art, who knew nothing of discipline, and made no attempt at enforcement of authority, from fear of becoming unpopular with "the boys" and losing their votes. As little, if any, restraint was exacted, the men felt no sense of responsibility or subordination, and no respect for the authority of their officers. They addressed the Commander-in-chief as "John," or "Old Ranger," and their Generals, Colonels, and Captains familiarly as

"Bill," "Jim" or "Jack." They did as they pleased, came and went as they chose, and, on all occasions, freely expressed their views of the campaign, and criticised the plans and orders of their commanders without reserve. The Commander-in-chief, Gov. Reynolds, and his staff of Colonels, who had all along followed "the boys" around to see that they were not imposed upon by their superiors, also becoming defected, or discouraged by the paucity of provisions and of glory, deserted "the boys" at the Burnt Village, and went to Galena, thence down to St. Louis, by boat, and on to their homes. With them also went Col. Sidney Breese and several others. Of the volunteer officers there was one who possessed the natural instincts of the soldier, and true conception of military duty. Neither a politician, or office-seeker himself, he had the moral courage and firmness to maintain, when unhampered by incompetent superiors, strict discipline in his command, and inspired his men with his own martial spirit. That man was Gen'l James D. Henry,* whose genius and generalship brought the unequal and inglorious conflict to a speedy termination; and whose course and conduct throughout the wretchedly bungled affair, rendered him, at its close, deservedly the most popular man in Illinois.

On the 4th of July the army was encamped on the banks of Lake Koshkoning, an expansion of Rock River,

* James Dougherty Henry was a native of Pennsylvania, and came to Edwardsville, a poor, obscure young man, in 1822. He worked at shoemaking, and attended night schools where he learned reading, writing and arithmetic. He engaged in merchandising, and removed to Springfield, where he enlisted for the Black Hawk war. He was six feet tall, spare made, with dignified, soldierly bearing. He was quiet, modest and taciturn; kindly disposed, honorable and absolutely fearless. His peculiar reserve of manner and inclination to melancholy, or misanthropy, were probably due to the fact of his illegitimate birth. After the close of the Black Hawk war his health failed, and, with the hope of being benefited by change of climate, he went to New Orleans in 1833. There, unknown and alone, he died, of consumption, on the 4th of March, 1834. His death was probably hastened by his unfortunate intemperate habits.

and there built a temporary fort. Then moved higher up the river and there again encamped. Provisions being nearly exhausted, Col. Ewing's regiment was, on the 10th of July, sent back to Dixon's Ferry for supplies, and to convey there Capt. Dunn, who had been accidentally and seriously wounded by a sentinel. Gen'l Posey was ordered, with his brigade, to Fort Hamilton to guard the frontier in that direction, and Gen'ls Henry and Alexander were sent to join Major Dodge at Fort Winnebago and the portage between Fox and Wisconsin rivers, while Gen'l Atkinson and the regulars fell back to Lake Koshkoning.

Gen'l Henry, separated from the others, and commanding the most advanced post, determined, regardless of orders to remain there, to take the course he thought best. He, however, narowly escaped being duped by the wily Winnebago who brought the report, believed at the time to be reliable, that Black Hawk and his warriors were in camp on Cranberry lake, forty or fifty miles higher up Rock River. In council with Gen'l Alexander and Major Dodge, he announced his determination to move immediately upon the enemy, and issued orders to have everything in readiness to start next day, the 15th of July, at noon. With that intention, he disposed of the sick and disabled in his brigade, and with all superfluous baggage, that otherwise would retard his progress. When ordered to take up the line of march, next day, Gen'l Alexander announced that his men refused to go a step farther, and Major Dodge reported his horses so jaded by their late hard service that *he* could not move.

Gen'l Henry, incensed at such unexpected and inexcusable insubordination, declared he would go and attack the Indians if as many as fifty trusty men would

volunteer to follow him. Just then Capt. Craig arrived with a company of mounted men to join Major Dodge, who with that fresh accession to his battalion, was able to muster 150 men and horses fit for service. Gen'l Henry had in his own brigade about 450 mounted men in good condition, but on preparing to march with that force, he was dismayed to find some of his own men in open revolt, refusing to leave camp, excepting to return to their homes. A protest against the proposed expedition, signed by all the officers of Col. Fry's regiment excepting the Colonel himself, was presented to Gen'l Henry, by Lieutenant-Col. Jeremiah Smith. The General's answer to that "round robin" was to immediately order every officer who signed that paper under arrest charged with mutiny; and he further ordered Col. Collins to guard them, as prisoners, and march them without delay to Gen'l Atkinson's headquarters. "This," says Gov. Reynolds, "was the crisis—the governing pivot in the whole campaign—and Gen'l Henry was equal to the emergency."*

Fortunately for the honor of Illinois, Gen'l Henry was a soldier who knew his duty, and had the firmness to execute it without regard to opinions of "the boys," or any probable consequences to himself at the next election. The exercise of authority he displayed on that occasion was before unknown in the volunteer army, and his evident determination to enforce obedience to his orders struck the office seekers with consternation. Lieut. Col. Smith, who had presented the protest, hurried to the General's quarters, pleading ignorance of its purport when he signed it, and begged permission to consult with the others who signed it. That request was

* Reynolds' Life and Times, p. 403.

granted, and in a short time they all came to the General and implored his pardon, some of them with tears trickling down their cheeks, and pledged their honor, if forgiven, to obey implicitly all future orders and regulations. Gen'l Henry received them kindly, and with dignity, permitting them to return to duty. He, however, sent what was left of Gen'l Alexander's brigade to Gen'l Atkinson as prisoners.

With the remnant of his own brigade, 450 men, and Major Dodge's battalion numbering 225 more, Gen'l Henry set out in search of the enemy, without orders from the commanding General. On the evening of the third day of very difficult marching they camped on Rock River, amidst the grandest scenery of that beautiful stream. There, three very friendly Winnebago Indians came into camp and again reported Black Hawk encamped on Cranberry Lake, a little higher up the river. Relying upon that apparent confirmation of former reports, the General prepared to move early next morning, and, by forced marches, surprise him. Having issued his orders and perfected all arrangements for the morrow, about dark he dispatched Dr. Merryman and a companion, with one of the lately arrived Winnebagos, named "Little Thunder," as guide, to Gen'l Atkinson to apprise him of his movements.

The Doctor, companion and guide, had preceded down the valley about eight miles when, to their great surprise, they came upon the broad fresh trail of a large party of Indians going west. At that unexpected discovery Little Thunder, much agitated, fled back to the camp to apprise his two confederates there that their deception was exposed. Dr. Merryman and companion also hastened back to report what they saw to the General,

and arrived as Little Thunder was telling the same to the other Winnebagos in their own language; thereupon all three Indians hastily left the camp. But their escape was frustrated by Major Murray McConnell, who, suspicious of some wrong motive on their part, brought them back to General Henry. Confronted with the evidence of their treachery, they confessed that they came to the white soldiers to deceive them and send them in a wrong direction in order to give Black Hawk time to get away. To make amends for their perfidity—and thereby perhaps save their lives—they then told all they knew of Black Hawk's plans, and condition of his band, and of their anxiety to get back to the west side of the great river. Gen'l Henry humanely spared their lives and protected them from the vengeance of his men.

By early dawn on the morning of July 19th, the 650 mounted men left their camp, abandoning five wagons and a quantity of cumbersome baggage not absolutely needed on the march and, by sunrise, came upon the trail of the fleeing Indians. Then commenced the long-delayed, earnest and unrelenting pursuit of the vicious savages that, in a few days, rid the State of Illinois of them forever. With but scant equipage, and more scanty provisions, the men who but a few days before had refused to advance another step, now, led by their stern commander, hurried forward until after dark, and then uncomplainingly laid on the wet gound in a drenching rain to sleep without shelter of any kind. At daylight next morning, unable to make fires, they breakfasted on raw bacon and wet flour, and continued the exciting chase. There was no loitering or lagging behind, but every man kept his place in the ranks ready at any moment for action. The Indians were not permitted

to rest. They were starving and on the verge of exhaustion; but their determined pursuers goaded them to still further exertion which they put forth hoping to find safety in the timbered hills of the Wisconsin river. Their trail was strewn with camp kettles, blankets, and other articles, thrown away to facilitate their flight; and occasionally a dead, or dying Indian, by the wayside, was ghastly evidence of the dire extremity to which they were reduced.

At the edge of the timber on the Wisconsin bluffs the hard-pressed warriors, for the first time, made a stand and gave battle; but only to gain time for their squaws and children to reach the river beyond. The volunteers had lost all their early timidity, and went into the fight like trained veterans. Their splendid soldierly conduct in that decisive engagement was worthy of the highest admiration. They routed the Indians, who left sixty-eight of their number dead on the field and fled down the bluffs, across the swampy bottom and the river, into the high broken country on the northern side of the Wisconsin. The whites lost one man killed and eight wounded. When the battle commenced, Little Thunder and the other two Winnebagos, who had been taken along as guides, taking advantage of the confusion and noise, made their escape. All other Winnebagos had been left behind as untrustworthy. About three o'clock in the night following the battle, an Indian with peculiarly loud, clear voice—who was noticed during the fight exhorting the warriors to renewed efforts—took a position on a point of the bluff not far away, and for some time harangued the whites in the Winnebago language; but as the guides had fled, no one in the General's camp understood what he said, and concluded he was trying to marshal the savages for another attack.

Afterwards it was learned that he was Ne-a-Pope, next in command to Black Hawk, sueing for peace. His people, he said, wished to surrender; they were starving, and dying of fatigue, and could no longer fight with the whites, and they begged to be permitted to return west of the Mississippi never again to recross it.

Learning that Gen'l Henry was trailing the enemy and rapidly gaining on him, Gen'l Atkinson, with his regulars and the few volunteers who had not yet deserted, followed him as expeditiously as possible, and arrived at Blue Mounds, in Wisconsin, the day after Gen'l Henry reached that point in search of provisions. They were there joined by 450 regulars under Col. Brady, and, on the 26th of July, the united force, commanded by Gen'l Atkinson, resumed the march and crossed the Wisconsin on rafts constructed by the soldiers. Gen'l Atkinson, who regarded the volunteers with supreme contempt—not without some justification—determined that all future glories in that war would be won by the regulars. Accordingly, in the order of advance he placed Col. Zach Taylor with his U. S. infantry in the lead, and Gen'l Henry and his volunteers, at the rear to guard the baggage train, an indignity they submitted to in silence. On the 28th the army struck the trail of the fleeing Indians again, marked at every step by pathetic testimony of their extreme distress and misery. Dead Indians were found at short intervals—five at one camping place—who had died of their wounds and starvation.

About ten o'clock of the fourth day after crossing the Wisconsin, the advance guard of the army reached the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi. The main body of Indians had arrived at the river bank near the mouth of a small stream known as the Bad Axe, and a few had

crossed to the west side. To divert Gen'l Atkinson's attention and gain time for his people to get across the Mississippi, Black Hawk and about twenty of his warriors feigned a stand for battle at the edge of the bluffs, whereupon Gen'l Atkinson placed his regulars in line ready for a grand charge, when Black Hawk, to decoy him from the real position of his wretched band, retreated *up* the Mississippi bottom, followed by the regulars and Major Dodge's battalion. The keen military eye of Gen'l Henry, who was in the rear, saw the sharp strategem of Black Hawk leading Gen'l Atkinson astray, and detected the trail where the Indians had descended the bluffs to the left and proceeded across the bottom to the river. Without orders, he sent eight men down the trail to reconnoiter, and, dismounting his brigade—of 400—he followed quickly with them, and soon found the enemy. The eight men he had sent forward were fired upon, and five of them were killed or wounded. He then gave the order to charge, obeyed with alacrity by his men, who drove the Indians from tree to tree, until they gained the river's bank. In the meantime Gen'l Henry sent his aide, Major Murray McConnell, to inform Gen'l Atkinson that he had found and engaged the warriors.

The Indians, in their desperation and terror, crowded to the river bank, and many of them plunged into the water to swim to the other side. Others crossed a narrow channel of the river to a small willow-covered island not far from the shore. While they were thus huddled together by the merciless rifles of the avengers in their rear, with but half a mile of water separating them from their refuge of safety, the steamboat *Warrior*, with a small company of soldiers aboard, commanded by one Capt. Throckmorton, appeared in the channel of the

river. At the unexpected arrival of that new enemy, the poor, famished, cowering wretches on the bank raised a white flag of submission. The valiant Captain on the boat then ordered them to come aboard and formally surrender, an order they neither understood, or had means of complying with. As none of them went to the boat, the Captain gave them fifteen minutes to remove their women and children; another order they could not comprehend, and could not possibly have obeyed if they did. At the expiration of the fifteen minutes, he fired upon them at close range with a six-pound cannon charged with grape-shot, followed by volleys of musketry by the soldiers. He killed twenty-three Indians, men, women and children, and wounded twice as many more; then, his ammunition exhausted, humanely ceased firing and returned to Prairie du Chien to rest upon his laurels.

Gen'l Henry made no halt, but pushed on, literally driving the miserable Indians into the river. Those who had taken refuge on the small island were followed by the volunteers, wading the narrow channel up to their arm-pits in water, and there continued the carnage. Gen'l Atkinson and his regulars arrived in time to lend a hand in the slaughter; but to Gen'l Henry is due the credit of the great victory achieved at that final "battle" of the Bad Axe. On the island about a hundred and fifty Indians, of both sexes and all ages, were massacred, and perhaps fifty squaws and children were spared and taken prisoners. The whites lost seventeen killed and twelve wounded. More than half of the enemy who attempted to swim the river were drowned, or shot in the water.

Thus terminated the famed Black Hawk "war." For the expulsion from the State of 400 Indian warriors, en-

cumbered by their squaws and children, 8,000 volunteers were enrolled; 1,500 U. S. regular soldiers put in the field, 2,000 human lives lost, at a total cost to the general government of over two millions of dollars.

Black Hawk, whose ruse was checked when Major McConnel called Gen'l Atkinson from his pursuit, fled eastward. A number of Winnebagos of that locality then anxious to prove their loyalty to the victorious whites, followed him and his little party to the Dalles of the Wisconsin river, and persuaded them to surrender. The plucky, vicious old warrior was brought to Prairie du Chien, thence sent to Fortress Monroe, with Ne-a-Pope and the Prophet, as prisoners of war, in April, 1833. In June they were taken through the eastern cities, where they paraded as heroes and were loaded with presents, and returned by way of the lakes, to their Iowa reservation.

Highly colored, exaggerated accounts of Black Hawk's raid were daily sent to Washington and the eastern cities, not only by enterprising newspaper correspondents and designing demagogues, but by State officials in high authority whose object was to influence Congress to make speedy and liberal appropriations to pay expenses of the "war." So grave was the situation in Illinois represented to be, that President Jackson, after consultation with his cabinet, ordered Gen'l Winfield Scott to march there at once with 1,000 regular troops, and so urgent was the emergency considered, that Gen'l Scott moved his force from Fortress Monroe to Chicago in the remarkably short time of eighteen days. Arriving himself on the Mississippi the "war" was over; but the U. S. soldiers met an enemy on the route, after leaving New York, far more formidable than any band of Sac

and Fox Indians. It was the Asiatic cholera that had recently invaded the country at Halifax. It swept away a fourth of Gen'l Scott's men, and many citizens, on its way westward, and from Prairie du Chien continued its saturnalia of death down the Mississippi River.

CHAPTER VII.

Gov. Edwards defeated for Congress by Charles Slade—Mr. Snyder re-elected to the State Senate—His removal from the American Bottom to Belleville—The cholera in Belleville in 1833—Death of Gov. Edwards—The eighth General Assembly—The "Falling Stars" —Death of Mr. Slade by cholera—Reynolds and Snyder candidates for Congress—Gen'l Duncan deserts the Democratic party and joins the Whigs.

The general election, on August 6th, 1832, followed a political campaign in Illinois as interesting, if not as exciting, as that of the Indian campaign just terminated. Three congressmen were elected instead of only one as formerly. In the third, or southeastern district, Zadok Casey was the successful candidate. Joseph Duncan, who then resided in Jacksonville, was re-elected to represent the second, or Springfield district. In the first, or Belleville district, five candidates were offered for the position, namely: Gov. Edwards, Charles Slade, Sidney Breese, Henry L. Webb and Charles Dunn. Mr. Slade was elected, the vote standing, for Slade, 2,470; for Gov. Edwards, 2,078; for Breese, 1,670; for Dunn, 1,020, and for Webb, 551.

Charles Slade, now one of the forgotten statesmen of Illinois, was born in England and brought, when quite young, by his parents to Alexandria, Virginia. When a young man he came west with two brothers, Richard and Thomas, and settled near the present site of Carlyle, then in St. Clair county. His two brothers remained single, but he, shortly after his arrival, married Miss Kain, and from that union several children were born. One of his sons, named Richard, married a daughter of Judge Sidney Breese, and was a volunteer in the Mexican war during which he died at Santa Fe, New Mexico. Alfred, another son of Charles Slade, when scarcely grown,

killed a man in Carlyle and fled to the western plains, where for some time he was in the employ of the Overland Mail Company. He drifted to the mountains and became one of the most notorious desperados of that (then) lawless region. He was credited with having committed twenty-six murders, and was finally hung by the vigilants in Virginia City, Montana Territory, on January 4th, 1862. A graphic sketch of his career and execution is given by Mark Twain in his volume entitled "Roughing It."

With a partner named Hubbard, Charles Slade engaged in the mercantile business in Carlyle, the first merchants there, and for some years quite successful. Mr. Slade become one of the most prominent men in southern Illinois in politics as well as in business. He was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1820, and again in 1826. Elected to Congress in 1832 he attended the first term of the 23d Congress, and when returning home, in the summer of 1833, was stricken down with cholera, and died after a short illness in Knox county, Indiana, near Vincennes. He was there buried and all trace of his grave is lost. He is described as an attractive, finely proportioned man, of good education and fair abilities, with some gift of oratory, pleasing address, and affable, friendly disposition that rendered him very popular.*

While Adam W. Snyder was yet ranging, with his company, on the northern frontier of the State, his friends in St. Clair county announced him a candidate for re-election to the State Senate; and he was elected without opposition, notwithstanding the fact that at the last session of the legislature he had voted

* For a more extended sketch of Mr. Slade see the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1903, p. 207.

for the Wiggins loan. The odium of that vote, however, may have been obscured by the lustre of his conflict with the Indians at Kellogg's Grove. At that time, in a greater degree than at present, military service rendered the State, or country, atoned in the estimation of the people, for almost any official, or personal, delinquency.

Mr. Snyder's residence on the farm had become for many reasons unsatisfactory and inconvenient, particularly so since he entered public life. The demands of his professional and business affairs over a wide area of the State, and his protracted absence at Vandalia during the session of the Legislature, and then in the Black Hawk campaign, tended to estrange him from his home to the neglect and discomfort of his family. For when away his wife was left to get along the best she could with servants, farm hands and guests, and the care of three small sickly children. To the usual endemic malarial disorders of the American Bottom, that in the summer and fall of 1832 prevailed with more than ordinary severity, was added the cholera epidemic rapidly spreading over the country, marking its course with horror and death. Mr. Snyder and family escaped that scourge, but few members of the household eluded the annual visitation of ague and bilious fever.

Occupying the prominent position in the community that Mr. Snyder did, it is incomprehensible why he remained so long in that location, remote from his professional interests, and so insalubrious as to endanger his life and that of each member of his family. An attack of bilious fever late in the summer of 1832 brought him to a full realization of the situation. "We will all die," said he, "if we remain longer among these pestilential swamps;" and he determined then to leave the Bottom

as soon as he could perfect arrangements, and remove to Belleville, the county seat of St. Clair county, on the highlands seven miles east of the region of swamps. Upon his next visit to Belleville he purchased of John H. Dennis, for the sum of $900, the block in that village bounded on the north and south by First and Second North streets, on the east by Spring street, and on the west by Richland street. It was in the outskirts of the town, though separated at one corner by a street only from the block from which one-fourth of the public, or Court house, square was taken. The site of Belleville, when a small farm belonging to George Blair, was selected, on March 10th, 1814, by seven special commissioners appointed by the legislature, as the location for the future county seat of St. Clair county. Blair subsequently sold the town—excepting lots previously disposed of—to an enterprising Canadian-Frenchman named Etienne Pensoneau; and, in 1824, Pensoneau sold it to Gov. Edwards, who removed his residence from Edwardsville to Belleville in the winter of 1824-'25. The block of lots purchased by Mr. Snyder were donated by Gov. Edwards to Mr. Dennis, a Virginian and distant relative by marriage. A condition of the sale to Mr. Snyder was that possession of the premises would be retained by Mr. Dennis until the 1st of March following.

The eighth general assembly met at Vandalia on the 3d of December, 1832. Zadok Casey, having been elected to Congress, resigned the position of Lieutenant Governor, and Senator William Lee D. Ewing, who, as Colonel of one of Gen'l Henry's trusted regiments, won distinction in the Black Hawk war, was chosen by the Senate its presiding officer in his stead. Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., was again elected Secretary. In the or-

ganization of the House, Alexander M. Jenkins was selected for Speaker, and David Prickett for Clerk. The proscription of members who voted for the Wiggins loan in the seventh assembly was very apparent in the eighth. Of the twenty-six Senators in the eighth assembly, only eight had served in the seventh, namely, Archer, Conway, Evans, Grammar,* Iles, Lynch, Snyder and Will. With very few exceptions the members of the House were new men in public life, among whom were Murray McConnell, James Semple, Cyrus Edwards, Stinson H. Anderson, John T. Stuart and Peter Cartwright.† Mr. Snyder was placed on the Judiciary Committee and on the Committee on Petitions.

In his message to the legislature Gov. Reynolds reviewed the late military operations resulting in expulsion of the hostile Indians from the State, urged legislation for a system of common schools, improvement of the Chicago harbor, construction of either a railroad or canal connecting the Illinois River with Lake Michigan, with preference for the former, closing with forcible endorsement of President Jackson's proclamation denouncing the South Carolina Nullification resolutions, and ap-

* John Grammar was a very early settler of southern Illinois, and was a member of the Territorial Council from Johnson county in 1816 and 1817. He was ultra pro-slavery in sentiment and vehemently supported the convention scheme in 1824. Later, when a member of the legislature from Union county, Judge Joe Gillespie says, a question arose regarding the validity of the titles to slaves in Illinois. "The old gentleman instantly arose and remarked, 'that fittener men than he was mout hev been found to defend the masters agin the sneakin' ways of the infernal abolitioners; but, havin' rights on my side, I don't fear, sir. I will show that are proposition is unconstitutionable, inlegal and fornenst the compact. Don't every one know, or leastwise had ought to know, that the Congress that sot at Post Vinsan, garnisheed to the old French inhabitants the right to their niggers; and hain't I got as much rights as any Frenchman in this State? Answer me that, sir.'"

† At the August election, 1832, in Sangamon county, entitled to four representatives in the lower house of the legislature, eleven candidates were announced. The four elected were G. D. Taylor, who received 1127 votes; Achilles Morris, 945; John T. Stuart, 991, and Peter Cartwright, 815. Of the seven defeated, Abraham Lincoln, fresh from the Black Hawk war, was eighth on the list with 657 votes.

pealed to the legislature to express the people's approval of the President's views. His appeal was complied with in a set of resolutions "pledging Illinois to sustain the President in his determination to execute the laws of the United States at all hazards," that were adopted with practical unanimity, as a large majority of both houses were "whole hog" adherents of Old Hickory. Hence the Governor's new-born zeal for Jackson.

That portion of the message relating to the late Indian war was, on motion of Mr. Snyder, laid on the table and 500 copies of it ordered printed for use of the Senate.

When the two houses met in joint session, on Dec. 29th, for election of State officers, Major John Dement was re-elected Treasurer without opposition. Col. James T. B. Stapp was chosen Auditor over Edmund G. Taylor and William B. Archer.

James Semple was elected Attorney General, defeating A. F. Grant, A. W. Cavarly, —— Canterberry, John J. Hardin and Sidney Breese, the latter receiving one vote. Samuel C. Pearce was made Warden of the Penitentiary.

Early in the session of the eighth general assembly a bill was passed by the House entitled, "An act to appoint Commissioners to permanently locate the seat of government of Illinois," and was sent to the Senate. There the bill was read a second time, on Jan. 9, 1833, and, on motion of Senator Ewing, referred to a select committee of five, announced by the presiding officer to consist of Ewing, Mills, Mather, Iles and Craig. On Jan. 12, Mr. Ewing, the chairman of that committee, reported "That they consider any legislation on the subject indicated by the bill, at this time, as premature, and recommend to the Senate its rejection," and, on motion of Mr. Ewing, the bill and report were laid on the table.

On Jan. 14th the bill and report, on motion of Mr. Ewing, were taken up, when Senator Conway moved to amend said report by striking out all of the same after the word "that," and inserting in lieu thereof the following, towit: "After the period fixed by the constitution fixing the seat of government at Vandalia shall have expired, it shall then be permanently located and fixed at Alton, on the Mississippi River," which was decided in the negative by yeas 5, nays 21. The report was then adopted, by 14 to 13, and again laid on the table. The bill and report were again called up, by Mr. Ewing, on the 15th, when Mr. Williamson moved that its further consideration be indefinitely postponed, which motion was rejected by the vote of 15 to 11. Mr. Snyder then moved to amend the bill by striking out all after the enacting clause, and inserting in lieu thereof the following: "That at the next election to be held in the several counties in this State for members of the legislature, there shall be opened at each place of voting a book in which shall be entered the votes of qualified voters in favor of the following named places, as their choice for the permanent location of the seat of government of this State at the expiration of the time prescribed by law for it to remain at Vandalia, to-wit: The geographical center of the State, Jacksonville in Morgan county; Springfield, in Sangamon county; Alton, in Madison county, and Vandalia, in Fayette county. The point or place receiving the highest number of votes shall forever remain the seat of government for the State of Illinois."

Other Senators proposed to further amend by inserting "Havana, in Tazewell county," "Beardstown, in Morgan county," "Rushville, in Schuyler county," "Shelbyville," and "Decatur," all of which were rejected, when

Mr. Snyder's amendment was adopted by 16 ayes to 10 nays. At the instance of Senator Strode the amendment of Mr. Snyder was modified by adding the words "Peoria, in Peoria county."

Mr. Snyder's amendment, subsequently modified by vesting the power of election in the legislature instead of the people at large, became the law by which the capitol was removed, six years later, from Vandalia to Springfield.

Public enthusiasm for internal improvements in Illinois was manifested that early by the passing of many special acts by the legislature incorporating various enterprises demanded by the people. Companies were authorized to build towns, railroads, colleges, seminaries, libraries and canals. Of railroads then contemplated, charters were granted for one from Chicago to the Illinois river; one from Peru on the Illinois river to Cairo to be known as the Illinois Central railroad, and another crossing the State on the latitude of Springfield. As the impecunious book worm derives pleasure in checking off on a catalog such books as he would like to have, but is unable to purchase, those charters, costing nothing, afforded the people much gratification, but none of the proposed enterprises progressed farther than the legislative authority granted.

There appearing to Mr. Snyder no valid reason why action of the Senate in secret session on the Governor's nominations should be excluded from the public, upon his motion, it was "*Ordered*, that the proceedings had in secret session on the Governor's nominations for office be spread on the records."

A bill was passed fixing the rate of interest at six per cent, in absence of specified rates in contracts. At that

session but two new counties were organized, Champaign and Iroquois.

The chief business of the session, not in importance, but in widespread interest, was the trial for impeaching Theophilus Washington Smith, one of the lifetime justices of the supreme court, for malfeasance in office. Judge Smith was a prominent Jackson Democrat, a wily politician, a pleasant, affable gentleman, and good lawyer. He, at one time, edited the *Crisis*, a paper published at Kaskaskia when Sidney Breese edited the *Democrat* there; he represented Madison county in the State Senate in the third and fourth general assemblies, was cashier of the Edwardsville bank, and served on Gov. Reynolds' staff in the Black Hawk war as Adjutant General. He was born in New York on the 28th of September, 1784; was educated there, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1805; then came to Illinois in 1816.

Several petitions were presented to the legislature charging him with acts of oppression, and misdemeanors in office. Many witnesses were examined by the House, upon whose testimony it voted articles of impeachment embracing five specifications, to-wit: imprisoning a Quaker for refusing to remove his hat from his head in court; selling a circuit clerkship; suspending a lawyer for advising his client to ask for a change of venue from his court, and two instances of swearing out vexatious writs returnable before himself for the purpose of oppressing innocent men by holding them to bail.

The Senate sat as a high court of Impeachment, the trial continuing from Jan. 9th to Feb. 7th, 1833. The prosecuting managers on the part of the House were Benjamin Mills, James Semple, John T. Stuart, Murray McConnell and John Dougherty. Judge Smith was de-

fended by Thomas Ford, Sidney Breese, and Richard M. Young, an array of legal talent, on both sides, unsurpassed for learning and ability in the State. The speech of Mr. Mills in summing up the evidence for the prosecution was extended over parts of three days, and was pronounced by all an effort of matchless force and brilliancy. As a two-thirds vote was required for conviction Judge Smith escaped conviction. Twelve Senators voted for conviction, ten for acquittal and four were excused from voting, one of whom was Senator Snyder. The Senate Journal states: "Mr. Snyder was confined to his lodgings by indisposition three days during examination of witnesses; and not having heard the testimony on both sides on any one of the articles of impeachment, was excused as heretofore stated." Senators Crawford and Forquer were excused by reason of sickness, and Senator Evans was absent by leave of the Senate.

Immediately on Judge Smith's acquittal, the House passed, by a two-thirds vote, a resolution to remove him from office by address; but it failed to pass the Senate and he remained on the supreme bench until the 26th of December, 1842, when he resigned. He died at his home in Chicago on the 6th of May, 1846.

The legislature adjourned on the 2d of March, 1833.

Returning home from Vandalia, Mr. Snyder at once removed his family and household property from the American Bottom to the residence purchased by him of Mr. Dennis, in Belleville. That town, then numbering among its citizens ex-Gov. Edwards, Gov. Reynolds, Senator Snyder, State's Attorney Alfred Cowles, and several other politicians of more or less note, with ex-Lieut. Gov. Kinney but a few miles away, was recognized by all office-seekers as a political focus of the State

of little, if any, less importance and influence than Vandalia. Dr. Joseph Green, who established the first newspaper in St. Clair county, *The Western News*, resided there, and Robert K. Fleming was then (1833) publishing there the *St. Clair Gazette*, a "whole hog" Jackson organ.

On the western half of Mr. Snyder's premises—where recently stood the Opera house—was a fine orchard of thrifty apple trees, and on the southeastern corner lots, nearest the public square, was the dwelling, an old frame house with one room above another, an addition or two one story high, and a log kitchen and smokehouse, all old and dilapidated. The house yard was shaded by large oaks and other forest trees conterminous with the heavily wooded region in the rear on the northern and western sides, extending to and beyond Richland Creek. Mrs. Harriet Pensoneau, Mrs. Snyder's sister, purchased from Conrad Bornman, the first German who permanently located in Belleville, the corner lots diagonally across the street from the Dennis house, upon which Mr. Bornman had built a small frame house (still standing there in fair condition, 1903). Immediately south of Mrs. Pensoneau's premises, including the corner lot of Spring and Main streets, was the home of Gov. Reynolds. Thus the Governor and Mr. Snyder were again fellow citizens of the same town and near neighbors, with their families on the most intimate terms of friendship.

In 1832 and '33 the vanguard of the host of German immigrants, that afterwards poured into southern Illinois for many years, made its appearance in St. Clair county. In 1833 and '34 the Hilgards, Engelmanns, Bunsens, and several other Germans of wealth and edu-

cation, came and settled about Belleville and in the Shiloah Valley, six miles to the northeast of Belleville. With them came Gustavus Koerner, a bright, highly educated young man, and graduate in law of the Heidelberg University. His impulsive republican tendencies had involved him in a revolutionary uprising of the democratic element in Frankfurt, where he was born and reared, and in the conflict with royal troops that followed on the 3d day of April, 1833, he was wounded. By aid of friends he escaped to France, but there found no asylum for those who revolted against monarchical tyranny, and was escorted by French *gens d' armes* into Switzerland. Managing to elude the authorities, he passed through France, and came to America. Already well versed in Latin and the French language, he soon mastered English of which he had gained theoretical knowledge in college. The large inflow of permanent German settlers in that part of Illinois induced him to carry out his original intention of adopting the legal profession as a life occupation. In that conclusion he was warmly encouraged by Mr. Snyder, who, from their first introduction, formed for him a cordial friendship, and did all in his power to aid him to establish himself in business.

In the spring of 1834 Mr. Snyder employed Conrad Bornman, the brick mason, and other mechanics, to build for him a law office, in the northwest corner of the public square, near the Court house, on a lot he had purchased for that purpose. It was a very modest brick building of two rooms, one behind the other, plainly but substantially erected and finished. In that office Mr. Koerner was installed and remained until he went to Lexington, Kentucky, and attended a law course at Transylvania University, a year later.

Mr. Snyder's knowledge of the German language attracted to his office many of the newly arrived foreigners who came to consult him in regard to lands and land titles; and for several years he did an extensive real estate business with and for them. A large proportion of German immigrants to Southern Illinois were of the laboring, or agricultural classes, sturdy, industrious, economical people who—like thistle seeds blown by the wind—took root in the soil where they alighted, and grew and flourished. Many an improvident American pioneer with more fondness for his gun and dog than for his plow, spending his time hunting for bee trees, or in horse racing, or at the town grocery, was displaced by the thrifty foreigner who paid him for his "improvements," then entered the land, and, in the course of a few years became a wealthy farmer. Among the newly arrived Germans were many political exiles, as Mr. Koerner, from the upper social stratum, cultured, educated and refined, who contributed largely to the advancement of Illinois in all the avenues of literature and scholarship.

The cholera that had accompanied Gen'l Scott's troops from New York City to Prairie du Chien, in 1832, continued its rapid and deadly march down through the settlements bordering the Mississippi until arrested at St. Louis for the winter by cold weather. With the rise of temperature in the spring it awoke from its hibernation and recommenced its terrible progress. It made its first appearance in Belleville in May, 1833, advancing from St. Louis, and was epidemic there by June, attended with alarming fatality.

Among the many superior attainments of Gov. Edwards was his very considerable practical knowledge of

medicine. How he ever found time in his busy life to give that study any attention is incomprehensible. His practice of the healing art was gratuitous and usually confined to the poorer classes as an adjunct to his natural broad philanthropy and charity. Yet, such was the popular confidence in his medical skill and judgment that "it was not unusual for persons to come hundreds of miles to consult him with regard to cases that were considered of a dangerous character by other physicians."*

When it was learned that the cholera was moving westward from India, Gov. Edwards exhausted all accessible means of obtaining reliable information of its causes, nature and symptoms, and the most successful methods then known for combating it. At length when it invaded his home village he was indefatigable in his efforts to stay its progress and shield the people from its pitiless havoc. Though his health at the time was impaired, and he was importuned by his family and friends to leave the infected district, or, at least, observe every possible precaution for his own safety, he was fearless and unremitting in ministering to its victims, particularly those in the humbler walks of life. He responded to the calls of charity at all hours of day and night, with immunity from the dreadful disease, until about the middle of July, when he was himself attacked by its premonitory symptoms, and confined to his bed for a day or two. With careful treatment he recovered sufficiently to be enabled to leave his room, and for two days resume his usual routine business. On Friday evening, July 19th, he relapsed and was at once prostrated with the most violent symptoms of cholera, and sank rapidly. A

* Life and Times of Ninian Edwards. By Ninian W. Edwards, 1870, p. 242.

messenger was despatched for his brother, Dr. Benjamin Edwards, who resided at Edwardsville; but before his arrival, at 7 o'clock on the morning of July 20th, 1833, Gov. Edwards expired, in the 58th year of his age.

From any point of view Gov. Edwards was, beyond all question, the ablest man in Illinois. Jesse B. Thomas, John McLean, Daniel P. Cook, and a few others, in some respects, were his equal; but in breadth and strength of intellect, in scholarly attainments, business sagacity and versatility of genius, he surpassed them all. As a lawyer, statesman, politician, financier, merchant, the measure of his success in the years of his busy life was proof of diversified talents far above the average. His opponents said he was vain and arrogant. If so, his justifiable vanity was balanced by his friendly, amiable disposition, and his seeming arrogance by open handed benevolence and kindness of heart. "A more affectionate and devoted husband, father, brother; or a kinder neighbor, never lived." The virtues of honor, justice, truth and charity were his. He was compassionate to the poor and needy, and in ministering to that class finally sacrificed his life. To flee from such an enemy as Asiatic cholera is not cowardice, but courageous wisdom. Gov. Edwards could easily have secured personal safety from it in flight; but fell a martyr to his lofty sentiments of philanthropy and sense of duty. He was subject to occasional fits of uncontrollable passion, in one of which he once fell to the floor, unconscious, when addressing the U. S. Senate, and was carried out of the chamber. Such exhibitions of anger were, however, rare. The great mistake of his distinguished career was his resignation from the Senate to accept the mission to Mexico. No reason can be assigned for expatriating himself at that

time by exchanging a seat in the U. S. Senate, which he might have held indefinitely, for a third or fourth rate diplomatic office. From the date of that illy-advised step his political strength in Illinois began to wane, and his subsequent efforts to regain the exalted position he relinquished were unsuccessful.

When Mrs. Daniel P. Cook died, at her father's residence in Belleville, in 1830, the town having no cemetery, she was buried, temporarily, on Mr. Dennis' place, on Spring street, in the edge of the woods thirty or forty yards north of the Dennis dwelling. The Governor, having died, was buried by her side, on the premises then owned and occupied by Mr. Snyder.* Before his last and fatal sickness he was contemplating removing from Belleville to Springfield, where, with his usual far-seeing judgment, he had made large investments in real estate that soon began rapidly to appreciate in value. After Mrs. Cook's death he donated to the town for the use of the public, the space of ground then far out in the woods, upon which the Catholic Bishop's residence and Parochial school building now stand, for burial purposes, and it was for many years the only cemetery in the place. It was his intention, when he changed his residence to Springfield, to exhume the remains of his daughter, Mrs. Cook, and reinter them there. In 1855, when sale of the Snyder property rendered their removal imperative, the moldering bones of the statesman and his daughter were taken up from their long resting place and transferred to Oak Ridge cemetery at Springfield.†

* The writer well remembers the awe and undefined dread that impelled him, when a small boy, to shun near approach to those two lonely, unmarked graves, in the corner of the garden, covered, pall-like, with a thick matting of dark green creeping myrtle.

† When exhuming the remains of Gov. Edwards and Mrs. Cook the laborers had removed but little earth from the foot of the Governor's grave when their spades came in contact with a heavy wooden box,

The total revenue of the State from all sources for the third and fourth fiscal years of Governor Reynolds' administration amounted to $147,074, and the disbursements for the same period to $146,777. The expenses of the last session of the legislature, together with the year's salaries of the Governor and State officers aggregated $50,748. The State's indebtedness was the Wiggins loan, $100,000, and very nearly as much more that had been diverted from the school and seminary funds to defray current State expenses. With recurrence of autumn frosts the cholera disappeared. Its visitation, appalling while it lasted, had but temporary depressing effect upon business and commerce, and did not appreciably retard the general prosperity of the country or check the growth of the State's population and wealth. In that large scope of splendid country between Rock Island and Chicago, where the settler had before been excluded by dread of Indian troubles, the pioneer's plow was already obliterating the ancient trails of the buffalo and the savage.

In the annals of Illinois—and the west—the year 1833 is memorable, not on acount of the cholera's ravages alone, but for that startling phenomenon that occurred in the early morning of November 13th, known among the pioneers as the "falling stars." Meteors commenced falling into the atmosphere and igniting between one and two o'clock, presenting the appearance of myriads of stars falling in all directions, like snowflakes in a storm, lighting the night with a strange, wierd brilliancy. The

that, when opened, was found to contain a closely packed human skeleton. The ghastly discovery, suggestive of a hidden crime, produced a lively sensation, and the coroner was summoned to investigate the mystery. The inquest had not proceeded far, however, when one of the local physicians quieted the excitement by explaining the bones to be those of a "subject" young Snyder (the writer) when a medical student, had brought from the dissecting room and buried there before his departure for California in 1850.

amazing display continued until extinguished by the superior light of the risen sun. It was a scene of marvelous sublimity well calculated to indelibly impress the memory and stir the imagination with superstitious wonder.

There was no meeting of the legislature in the winter of 1833-34; but, as the following summer would bring around another general election in the State, there was no hibernation of politicians. No inclemency of weather dampened their ardor or cooled their ambition, and through the long winter months they prosecuted their siege of the long-suffering people. It was customary to give the first day of Circuit court terms, after the judge had charged the grand jury, to the public for political speeches and discussions; also for parading fine stable horses about the public square. At such times the representatives in Congress and the legislature usually rendered to their constituents acounts of their stewardships, and aspirants for all offices at the next election came forward and greeted the voters, if not always with flowery eloquence, invariably with fair promises.

General Joseph Duncan, then serving his fourth term in Congress, was early anounced a candidate for Governor. He remained in Washington City during the campaign and addressed the people of the State through the medium of newspapers and circulars. He was opposed in the field by three candidates, William Kinney, John Adams and Robert McLaughlin. The last named was his uncle, who had served four years as State Treasurer and six years in the legislature. On the question of slavery General Duncan was very conservative. He detested Abolitionists and Abolitionism; was opposed to interfering with slavery where it existed, and equally

opposed to its extension into territory where it did not exist—especially into Illinois. He had four times been elected to Congress as an ultra Jackson Democrat, and Jackson Democrats again rallied with their usual party zeal to his support for Governor.

The candidates for Lieutenant Governor were Alexander M. Jenkins, James Evans and William B. Archer.

The first, or Belleville, Congressional district was represented by Charles Slade, of whom now but little is known. He was a candidate for re-election, as he had informed his constituents. Governor Reynolds, whose term as Governor would expire on the first Monday in December, 1834, "yielded to the earnest solicitations of his friends" and "consented, for the good of the country," that they might "use his name" also in connection with the election of Congressman. The convention system was then unknown in the west, and no restraint whatever was imposed on anyone who chose to become a candidate for any office. The "milk and cider," vacillating course pursued by Mr. Slade in Congress was a serious disappointment to many of his former supporters, to whom Reynolds, for many reasons, was extremely objectionable. That class of voters in several counties of the district desired a candidate with well-defined political principles on whose integrity and firmness they could implicitly rely. Though the party convention of the present day had not then been evolved, King Caucus was beginning to assert his power. A consultation of the most prominent anti-Reynolds men was held, resulting, after due deliberation, in naming Adam W. Snyder, a party leader in the Senate with creditable Black Hawk war record, as the most available man to oppose Reynolds, and accordingly he was announced as a candidate for the full term.

On his way home after adjournment of Congress, in the summer of 1834, Mr. Slade was stricken with cholera and died, on the 11th of July, when near Vincennes, Indiana. That melancholy and unexpected event caused a vacancy for his unexpired term to be supplied at the general election. Gov. Reynolds, again "yielding to the wishes of his friends," announced himself a candidate for that also, and had no opposition.

The political antagonism of Reynolds and Snyder, dating from the latter's early association with Judge Jesse B. Thomas, may possibly have influenced, to some extent, the action of the caucus. The Whigs were yet numerically too weak in the district to present a candidate with any hope of success even against the divided Jackson party. An untrammeled test of strength of Reynolds and Snyder at the polls would, doubtless, have been very interesting, though all advantages of longer residence in the country, earlier military service and more extensive general acquaintance with the people, were decidedly in the Old Ranger's favor. But a third candidate, also a Jackson Democrat, entered the list with them for Congressional honors, Colonel Edward Humphreys, of Kaskaskia, for some years Receiver of the land office there. He had formerly been a Crawford man, but had transferred his allegiance to Old Hickory, in preference to lapsing into political extinction.

Of his two competitors in that race Governor Reynolds said, twenty-one years later, in 1855:* "This district contained a large democratic majority, and no whig offered for Congress at that election. There were in the field three candidates for Congress, A. W. Snyder, Esq., Colonel Edward Humphreys and myself, all Democrats

* Reynolds' Life and Times, pp. 444-445.

and Jackson men. All the candidates offered without a convention.

"Mr. Snyder, the candidate for Congress, was a conspicuous and distinguished character, a popular member of the General Assembly, and possessed of great strength and versatility of talent. He had been in his youth deprived of a classic education, and was a self-taught man. But the natural powers of his mind were strong and energetic, and he studied the human character in all its various phases. He possessed in an eminent degree the talent to advance himself in the good graces of the people. His speeches were generally short, eloquent and prepossessing. His address was agreeable, polite and courteous. His voice was excellent, and his addresses were generally received by his audience with marked approbation, and frequently produced powerful effects.

"He was then youthful, ardent and ambitious. Labor with him in electioneering was a pleasure, and his sociability and incessant intercourse with the masses seemed to be his pleasure and happiness. Mr. Snyder was then, in 1834, a practicing lawyer, and was extremely popular at the bar. He always possessed the happy faculty of making the jurors believe he had the right side of the case. Scarcely any person had superior talent for making a bad case in court look well. With these rare qualities and abilities he rose to eminence in the State, and was nominated by a democratic convention to be a candidate for Governor. He would have been in all human probability, elected Governor in 1842, but before the election he died, much regretted by the poeple.

"Colonel Humphrey, my other opponent, was a gentleman of good sound talents, and had been for many

years an officer in the land office at Kaskaskia. He had been a warm supporter of Crawford, and was, in the Congressional election, an *ultra* Jackson man. He was a more violent and proscriptive man than either Mr. Snyder or myself. He canvassed the district considerably, but made no speeches, and was not known in many of the counties, but he received a goodly number of votes. Nevertheless the contest for a seat in Congress was between Mr. Snyder and myself."

Electioneering for a seat in Congress at that date was not altogether a pleasurable pastime, but involved much labor and considerable expense. The district included nearly a fourth of the State, and candidates traveled over it, usually on horseback, addressing the people at every county seat and important town, subsidizing every newspaper of their respective parties, and treating all their friends at every dramshop, whether they themselves drank or not.

It was related during that campaign that Mr. Snyder, having made an appointment to address the citizens of Macoupin county, at Carlinville, on a certain day, was journeying there the evening before when night overtook him some miles yet from his destination. Remembering that a substantial and influential farmer and sound Democrat named Watson resided in the neighborhood where he then was, he concluded to call on him and stay over night, and, incidentally, ascertain how Mr. Watson's predilections were in regard to the Congressional candidates. Arriving there in the dusky twilight, he dismounted at the gate, and going to the front door of the dwelling knocked repeatedly, but received no response. He then walked around to the rear of the house in search of its occupants, and heard at the barn

lot a man's voice, Mr. Watson's presumably, calling up the hogs for their evening feed. Hearing other voices in the cow lot near by, he approached the fence and saw the farmer's wife milking a cow, and was dumfounded on seeing, a few steps beyond, Governor Reynolds hold ing the calf away. Without uttering a word to make his presence known he hurried back to the gate, mounted his horse and rode on to Carlinville.

Another incident of that campaign was related by General John M. Palmer, in a private letter written a short time before his death, as follows: "At the spring term of the Madison county Circuit court in 1834, I was present when Hon. Adam W. Snyder, candidate for Congress, had, as he supposed, a meeting of his own. He was addressing the people, when, to his surprise and consternation, Governor Reynolds walked in, and, in his usual affable way, said, 'How are you all, fellow citizens?' Then recognizing some persons in the audience, shook hands with them, and enquired about the health of their families. Mr. Snyder paused, and, raising his hands, exclaimed, 'My God! will I ever get rid of him this side of Heaven?' And then added sententiously, 'When there, I am quite sure I will be rid of him forever.'"

In his intercourse with the people Mr. Snyder was always cordial and pleasant, and conducted himself with the dignity and bearing of a gentleman. He was firm in his convictions and expressed them frankly in his political speeches, as in conversation, but was invariably respectful to his adversaries, never descending to ribaldry or personal abuse.

Governor Reynolds, when a candidate for Congress, practiced the same "milk and cider" tactics he did in

his contest for Governor, by pandering to the Whigs while nominally a Jackson Democrat, and again he was successful. He was elected on the 4th of August, 1834, both for the vacancy and the full term of the 24th Congress. In St. Clair county, where he had resided for nearly thirty-four years, and Mr. Snyder for seventeen, the votes cast at that election numbered 150 for Reynolds, 392 for Humphreys and 653 for Snyder, a majority for Snyder over Reynolds of 503 and of 110 over the combined votes of both his opponents.*

For Governor, Joseph Duncan received 17,349 votes; William Kinney, 10,229; Mr. McLaughlin, 4,315, and Mr. Adams 887. Alexander M. Jenkins was elected Lieutenant Governor by a large majority.

The rejoicings of jubilant Democrats over their sweeping victory in Illinois were, however, turned to wailings of disappointment and indignation when they learned that their Governor-elect, Joseph Duncan—the man to whom they had given their confidence and loyal support for years—had betrayed them and gone over to the enemy. They were amazed and shocked, and could scarcely believe it true that he had joined the Whigs. It was well for him that he remained in Washington and concealed that fact until after the election, for had his defection been known in Illinois before that time he would have been overwhelmingly defeated. He left the Democratic party when the policy of the Jackson administration was defined by the veto of the National Bank bill and that of the Maysville road measure, but was careful to make no public declaration of his change of

* Writing to Gen'l Semple on Aug. 12, Mr. Snyder said, "Had that d d old fool, Humphreys, not have run I would have laid old Reynolds out forever. Is it not strange that there is always some creature like that in the way, never strong enough to be elected, but troublesome enough to keep others out."

heart until the party he intended in future to antagonize had elevated him to the Governorship.

"Well, Governor," remarked the new apostate Governor on meeting the Old Ranger after the election, "we are changing nags here! you are going from Governor to Congress, and I from Congress to Governor." "Yes," retorted Reynolds, "and we have changed political nags, too. You are now riding the Yankee mule and I am astraddle of Old Hickory." The Old Ranger thus facetiously admitted that heretofore he had been a "milk and cider," half Whig, but henceforth would affiliate with the "whole hog" party that Duncan had deserted. And so he did.

Upon meeting Governor Duncan, and learning that he had gone over to the Whigs, Governor Kinney upbraided him as follows: "Now, Jo, we Jackson men took you up when you was young, poor and friendless; we put you in high office and enabled you to make a fortune; and for all this you have joined the Adams men and become our enemy. You was like a poor colt. We caught you up out of a thicket, fed you on the best, combed the burs out of your mane and tail, and made a fine horse of you, and now you've broke away from us, and are trying to kick us to death for our pains." Gov. Reynolds says: "The Governor-elect did not return home from the East during the election canvass, but addressed circulars to the people. If he had been at home it is doubtful if he would have been elected, as he had entirely abandoned the Democratic party and joined the Whigs, which a great portion of his supporters would not believe until they were forced to the unwelcome fact."*

* Reynolds' Life and Times. First edition. Belleville, 1855. Page 447.

CHAPTER VIII.

Death of the wife of Gov. Reynolds in 1834—Gen'l Ewing Governor for fifteen days—Another State Bank established—Loan of half a million of dollars on State credit for the canal—The Wiggins Ferry Company—Gen'l Ewing elected to the U. S. Senate for sixty-five days—Legislation of the second session of the ninth General Assembly.

Colonel William Lee Davidson Ewing, elected President of the Senate, by the Senators, upon Lieutenant Governor Casey's resignation, was a rising politician of ability with much ambition and self-esteem. He was a native of Kentucky and came to Shawneetown when quite young, and there commenced the practice of law, but never attained high eminence in that profession. In 1820 he was appointed, by President Monroe, Receiver of the land office at Vandalia. He then made that place his home and there married a daughter of Elijah C. Berry, the State's first Auditor. In 1823 he became financially embarrassed by the robbery of his office of a considerable amount of money. His political career began in 1826 by his election to the position of Clerk of the House of representatives in the fifth general assembly. He was re-elected Clerk of the House in the sixth assembly, in 1828, and in 1830 was elected a member of the House. He rendered distinguished service in the Black Hawk war under General Henry, and was promoted by the people of his district to the State Senate in 1832. He was a Jackson Democrat, of course; a fair speaker, brave and manly, and very obliging and courteous. He was a little above medium height, heavily built, with large head, short face, blue eyes and auburn hair.

Reynolds disliked Ewing—as he disliked every other successful, or promising, politician whom he could not

control, and who might at some time possibly aspire to something he himself wanted—and knowing that Ewing would become Governor upon his resignation of the office, held on to the place until he had barely time to reach Washington at the meeting of Congress.

In justice to Governor Reynolds, however, it must be borne in mind that another and far more serious cause contributed to detaining him at home to that late date. On the 5th of November his wife died at Belleville, and was buried at Cahokia on the 7th. Several days were required to effect the changes in his household, and new arrangements in his domestic affairs necessitated by that sad event, and it was not until the 17th of November, ten days after the burial of Mrs. Reynolds, that he resigned the executive office. General Ewing was then Governor of Illinois for fifteen days without having been elected to either that office or to that of Lieutenant Governor.

The ninth general assembly met at Vandalia on the 1st of December, 1834. James Semple, of Madison county, was elected Speaker of the House, and David Prickett Clerk for the third time, with Walter B. Scates assistant Clerk. Leonard White was chosen Secretary of the Senate. Of the new members of the House, subsequently mentioned in the annals of the State, were Jesse K. Dubois, Milton Carpenter, Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., Abraham Lincoln and Orlando B. Ficklin. Among those taking seats in the Senate for the first time were A. G. Herndon, William J. Gatewood, William Thomas, James W. Stephenson and John S. Hacker. The message of Governor Ewing to the legislature was brief and modest, confined principally to an exposition of the State's financial condition.

Governor Duncan's inaugural message left no doubt of his hostility to the policy of President Jackson's administration on national questions. He took strong ground in favor of establishing a State Bank, and also advocated a system of internal improvements to be constructed and paid for by the State. He advised the lawmakers to "establish some permanent system of common schools by which an education may be placed within the power, nay, if possible, secured to every child in the State." He urged the necessity of completing the Illinois and Michigan canal "wide enough for steamboats to pass on it;" also the taxation of property for the support of the State, and favored the enactment by Congress of a national preemption law.

In arranging the Senate committees, Mr. Snyder was made chairman of that on Finance, and a member of the committee on Military affairs. A large majority of both houses were opposed politically to Governor Duncan and his newly found allies, but he received from the legislators their utmost respect, and his recommendations were given all due consideration. Preliminary to the earnest business of the session, the two houses met to elect a Senator to succeed Hon. John M. Robinson, who was a candidate for re-election. Judge Richard M. Young and William B. Archer were also candidates for the place. Mr. Robinson was re-elected with 47 votes to 30 for Young and 4 for Archer. In that election Mr. Snyder voted for Judge Young, then residing in Union county, in his Congressional district.

Since the currency of the old State bank was redeemed and its affairs wound up, the people had become well accustomed to getting along without local banks, having abundance of notes of banks in adjoining states in circu-

lation, sufficient for their commercial purposes. But the mania for speculation that for some time had been raging in the east, infected certain classes in Illinois, who clamored for reestablishing banks in this state to further their schemes for legalized plunder. Party lines in the legislature were not drawn on the question of local banks. A few Whigs were opposed to them and many Democrats, believing that General Jackson, though he vetoed the National Bank bill, was favorably disposed to state banks, thought it their duty to favor them also. Justice Theophilus W. Smith, of the Supreme Court, a Democrat, drew up a bill chartering a new Illinois State bank with six branches and a capital of $1,500,000, to be increased, if in future deemed necessary, by another $1,000,000, and reserving to the State the privilege of taking $100,000 of the capital stock. The bill also provided for "extending for a limited time" the charter of the old Shawneetown bank that failed twelve years before, with a capital of $300,000. That bill was introduced in the Senate by Conrad Will,* of Jackson county, a Whig.

Mr. Snyder, the leader of the opposition to banks in the Senate, exhausted every effort in his power to defeat the bill, but, deserted by weak-kneed Democrats, he failed, and the provisions for establishing a State bank were adopted. Upon third reading of the bill his speech against it was so effective that the clause resurrecting

* Conrad Will, in whose honor the county of Will was named, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., June 4, 1779, and there graduated in medicine. He came to Kaskaskia in 1815 and practiced his profession there a short time, when he engaged in the manufacture of salt from a saline spring near the Big Muddy. He was a member of the Constitutional convention and represented Jackson county in the first legislature in 1818; and was re-elected to one house or the other of every subsequent assembly to and including the ninth. He died after the session adjourned in 1835, June 11th. Gov. Ford says of him: "He was not remarkable for anything except his good humor, and for having been long a member of the legislature."

the defunct Shawneetown bank was stricken out by a vote of 13 to 12; but the next day the vote was reconsidered and the bank bill in its entirety was passed and received the sanction of the Whig Governor and Council of Revision. It was charged that unblushing corruption was practiced in securing passage of the bank bill. One anti-bank Democrat was bought over to its support, it was said, with the office of State's Attorney, and others by promises of support for certain acts of legislation they especially desired, and still others by means of more direct bribery.

The people had not asked for reestablishing State banks; the business of the State did not require them. The movement was instigated by jobbers and speculators, and was the beginning of a series of ill-judged acts of legislation that proved in their ultimate consequences disastrous to the people of the State.

Senator Forquer,* Chairman of the Internal Improvement Committee, made an exhaustive and elaborate report on the condition and prospective benefits of the Illinois and Michigan canal—5,000 copies of which were ordered to be printed for information of the public—and proposed a bill, which was passed, authorizing the borrowing of $500,000, secured by lien on the canal lands, for prosecuting work upon it. Ninian W. Edwards, son of Gov. Edwards, was elected, in joint session, on the 14th of January, 1835, Attorney General, and resigned the office on the 7th of the following month. Five days later the vacancy was supplied by election of Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., a Whig, for whom 55 votes were

* George Forquer is erroneously credited with having coined the phrase, "to die in the last ditch." Edwards Papers, p. 518. That phrase was originated by William Prince of Orange.

cast. Three votes—one of them Mr. Snyder's—were cast for Seth T. Sawyer.

At the same time State's Attorneys were elected for the five judicial districts. For that office in the Jacksonville district, Stephen A. Douglas, with 38 votes, defeated John J. Hardin, who received 34. In the third district Orlando B. Ficklin was chosen, having 46 votes to 44 for John Dougherty; and in the fifth district William A. Richardson secured the place by 57 votes to only 11 for O. H. Browning. Col. Stapp was re-elected Auditor, and Col. John Dement, Treasurer. Stephen T. Logan, Sidney Breese, Henry Eddy, Thomas Ford and Justin Harlin were elected circuit judges.

"Mr. Snyder from the committee on which was referred the petitions of sundry citizens of St. Clair county," reported a lengthy set of resolutions memorializing Congress to grant to St. Clair county a quarter section of land on the Mississippi river opposite the city of St. Louis, Mo., for certain road purposes, which were adopted by both houses. That was the initial move in a bitter contest lasting for years, on the part of the citizens of St. Clair county, to combat the grinding monopoly of the Wiggins Ferry Company at St. Louis. The first regular ferry at that point was established by Capt. Piggott, in 1790, with boats propelled by oars. Samuel Wiggins purchased the ferry in 1818, and substituted boats driven by horse power in place of oars. He then secured from the first Illinois legislature, at Vandalia, in 1819, a charter granting himself and associates, and their successors, the exclusive right of use for ferry purposes, of the river front extending a mile along its bank opposite St. Louis. The river bank there was part of the extensive tract held in common by the French in-

habitants of Cahokia, unalienable by them without authority of Congress. From the illiterate Trustees of the old French town the Wiggins company procured confirmation of the rights granted by the legislature, for the consideration that all French residents of Cahokia and its commons should be ferried across the river at all times without charge. The constantly increasing stream of western emigration crossing the Mississippi at St. Louis, and the rapidly growing traffic between that city and southern Illinois, greatly increased the business of the ferry and made the Wiggins company a powerful and exacting monopoly. In 1828 the horse boats were replaced by a large double-keel steam boat named the "St. Clair," and in 1832 another similar boat, the "Ibex," was added, and still others as enlarging demands required.

The farmers of several counties in southern Illinois, especially of St. Clair, Monroe and Madison, who sold the most of their farm products in St. Louis; and the merchants, teamsters, and others, compelled to frequently cross the Mississippi by the Wiggins ferry, complained of the extortionate and intolerable charges of that monopoly, and agitated the movement for obtaining relief. So long as the Wiggins company held their franchise no competing ferry could be established there, and Congress alone possessed the power to terminate the exclusive right of the company to the mile of river shore on the Illinois side. Mr. Snyder's resolution asking Congress to grant to St. Clair county—with consent of the inhabitants of Cahokia, already obtained—160 acres of land bordering on the river opposite the city of St. Louis, were transmitted to Washington, and Gov. Reynolds, representative of the first Illinois district, secured

passage of a bill by Congress complying with the request of the legislature. That was the first skirmish in a protracted struggle by the people to abridge the power and abuse of power, of the Wiggins Ferry company.

Details of the long, acrimonious conflict with the wealthy corporation would here be out of place. Despite the opposition of a strong and unscrupulous lobby employed by the Wiggins company, Col. John Thomas and Dr. W. W. Roman, representatives of St. Clair county in the legislature of 1839, succeeded in obtaining a franchise for their county to establish and operate a ferry at St. Louis alongside of the Wiggins ferry. In due time "The People's Ferry," equipped with first-class boats, was put in operation there, much to the relief of the long-suffering traveling public. But the competition was very distasteful to the old monopoly, and the Wiggins company spared no means to get rid of it. Col. J. L. D. Morrison, a lawyer of Belleville, shrewd and energetic, two or three years later obtained from the Illinois legislature a charter, or revival of a charter, for constructing a railroad from Belleville to a point opposite St. Louis, with a clause inserted empowering the railroad company to buy or lease the county ferry.

That franchise was afterwards transferred to the St. Louis, Alton & Terre Haute Railroad company of which Col. Morrison was the chief attorney. He then persuaded the County court of St. Clair county to lease in perpetuity the county ferry to that railroad corporation with the understanding that it would be continued in operation, for the accommodation of the public, in competition with the Wiggins ferry. So well satisfied were the county authorities with the pledges of Col. Morrison and the corporation he represented, that they made

the perpetual lease, and reserved no provision for reversion, or forfeiture, in case of failure on the part of the lessees to comply with their obligations to the county. Not long after that arrangement was consummated, in consideration of certain terminal facilities, the railroad company transferred the county ferry to the Wiggins ferry company. The old transit monopoly was resumed, and continued undisturbed until opposed by one infinitely worse—as affecting railroad traffic—when the Eads bridge was completed.

Elias Kent Kane, one of the most active and influential members of the convention that framed the first State Constitution, having assurances—so it is said—of his appointment of Secretary of State by the first Governor, (Bond), and not certain how he might fare if selection of the Secretary was left to the legislature, inserted the provision in the Constitution for election of state officers by the legislature, excepting the Secretary of State, who would receive his appointment from the Governor "by and with the consent of the Senate," but neglected to define the duration of his term of office. Mr. Kane received the appointment from Gov. Bond, and resigned after service of four years. In 1828, there occurring a vacancy by resignation of George Forquer, Gov. Edwards appointed Col. Alexander P. Field, Secretary of State, who construed the Constitution to give him a life tenure of the office. With Gen'l Duncan, Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., and others, he had renounced Jacksonism and joined the Whigs. As he was an influential and sagacious politician, the Democrats were very desirous of turning him out of office and putting in his stead one of their own party, or leave the office vacant until a Democrat was elected Governor.

With that object in view, Senator Thomas, of Morgan county, offered a resolution, "That in the opinion of this general assembly, every Governor when elected, has the power to nominate a suitable person to fill the office of Secretary of State, and that he may forbear to make such a nomination whilst there is a Secretary of State in office." A motion to indefinitely postpone further consideration of the resolution was lost, when, on motion of Mr. Snyder, it was "referred to the Judiciary Committee with instructions to report a bill defining the duties, and term of service of the Secretary of State," which was agreed to; but the Judiciary Committee failed to report the required bill that session, and Mr. Field held fast to the office. The object of Mr. Snyder, and his partisans, was to declare the office vacant by limitation, and then refuse to confirm the nomination of any Whig for the place made by Gov. Duncan.

Mr. Snyder introduced a resolution, "instructing our Senators, and requesting our Representatives in Congress to secure, if possible," a grant of 400 acres of land to each person who was the head of a family in Illinois between the years 1783 and that of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, 1803, which was unanimously adopted.

The Normal school appeared for the first time in the legislature of Illinois, at that session, in a resolution offered by Senator Gatewood, "to memorialize Congress to grant to Illinois a reasonable quantity of land, or a portion of the proceeds of the sale thereof, for the support of seminaries to qualify teachers, etc.," which, on motion of Mr. Snyder, was laid on the table and 10,000 copies (with Mr. Gatewood's Report on Education) ordered printed.

Near the close of the session, Senator Will, as his last official act, in a spirit of levity, no doubt, offered the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Finance be instructed to inquire into the expediency of taxing all bachelors over the age of 24 years; and that they have leave to report by bill or otherwise." On motion of Senator Thomas of Morgan county, the resolution was laid on the table "until next 4th of July."

By special message Gov. Duncan sent to the Senate his nomination of Mr. Linn, his brother-in-law, for Canal Commissioner, and the nomination was confirmed by 10 votes for and 9 against, Mr. Snyder voting in the negative. The journal of the Senate states the legislature adjourned on the 13th of February, 1835, "after an impressive prayer by Rev. Mr. Hunter."

The first national convention for nominating candidates for President and Vice-President was held by the Democrats at Baltimore, in May, 1835, though the election was yet eighteen months distant in the future. Their nominees were Martin Van Buren for President, and Richard M. Johnson for Vice-President. The Whigs held no Presidential convention that year, or the next.

By the census taken in 1835 the population of Illinois was 269,974; an increase since 1830 of 112,529; and since 1818 of 235,354. The counties had multiplied from 19 in 1820, to 57 in 1835.

The capital stock of the new State banks was soon subscribed, chiefly by foreign* capital, and they were in full operation by midsummer. Money—such as it was—was again abundant, and, in consequence, the values of property enhanced. The State treasury paid all de-

* The term "foreign" here means outside of Illinois; or capital from the eastern states.

mands against it—in "shinplasters"; taxes were only nominal, and the people, as well as the State, were in a flourishing condition. A furor for speculation, especially in town lots, stimulated by illusive prosperity, first appeared at Chicago, then swept all over the State. That town expanded, in a short period of time from a small dismal village of a few hundred people, to a city of several thousands of inhabitants. Every stage coach and lake boat arriving there from the east was crowded with capitalists in haste to invest in real estate to sell again to later arrivals at fabulous profits.

In the organization of the State bank the Whigs, by far the heaviest stock-holders, beat the Judge Smith party and gained control of it. They attempted to have the bank made the depository of land office funds, but the Democrats had sufficient influence at Washington to frustrate that scheme. They probably could not have succeeded in any event, as the old State bank, years before, had defaulted payment to the government in the sum of $40,000 committed to its care by the land office at Edwardsville.*

Alton at that time was a very thriving town, expected by many of its citizens to succeed as a commercial rival of St. Louis. The firm of Godfrey, Gilman & Co., merchants at Alton and large stockholders in the new bank, borrowed from it $800,000 to "corner" the output of Galena mines, and to "boom" Alton. Manning & Co., another firm there, also borrowed several hundred thousands from the bank, and Sloo & Co., still another Alton firm, obtained from the bank large sums of money. The attempt to crush St. Louis proved a failure, and in

*It was in reference to that defalcation that Senator Ninian Edwards and Secretary of the Treasury, Crawford, quarreled in 1824.

the end, the bank lost almost a million of dollars by the experiment.

The charter of the new State bank permitted it to loan money to citizens of Illinois secured by mortgages on real estate, which it did, resulting in losses both to the bank and to many of the borrowers, as many honest farmers mortgaged their farms, and, unable to re-pay the money they borrowed, when due, lost them, while speculators obtained money from the bank on worthless lots and lands, that it was compelled to take on foreclosures, and could realize nothing on.

When Senator Forquer's bill authorizing a loan of $500,000 in aid of the Illinois and Michigan canal was adopted in January, high hopes were entertained by the public that, with the opening of spring, work would be commenced and vigorously prosecuted on that famous waterway. But spring, summer and autumn passed, and still the route of the great ditch remained overgrown with prairie grass, because the Governor failed to discover any capitalist, or company, willing to risk the loan of half a million dollars on such questionable security as 224,322 acres of Illinois land including a portion of Chicago.

Upon adjournment of the legislature, in February, Mr. Snyder hastened to his home to meet his many business engagements, and was busily employed all the year. His law practice increased beyond his ability to manage it alone, and he invited Mr. Gustavus Koerner to enter into partnership with him. "In the latter part of 1835," says Mr. Koerner, in his unpublished personal memoirs, "Mr. Snyder, the most popular lawyer in the place, proposed to take me into partnership in the practice of law. I cheerfully agreed to it and moved into his handsome

new office on the corner of the public square and Illinois street. Of course it was not on equal terms, but I thought it an advantage in every respect, besides I had really become very much attached to him."

In the late summer of 1835 Mr. Snyder's brother, Dr. Solomon King Snyder, was attacked with typho-malarial fever in aggravated form. To afford him better care and attention Mr. Snyder caused him to be removed from the Tannehill tavern, where he lived, to his own home. There he lingered for some time, gradually wasting away, until he finally died. He was comparatively a young man, and had never married.*

By proclamation of Gov. Duncan, the ninth general assembly met in extra session at Vandalia, on the 7th of December, 1835, to reapportion the State in accordance with the census just taken, and for general needed legislation. The organization of the two houses remained unchanged. Since adjournment of the regular session, Senators Forquer, Mather and Taylor had resigned, and Senators Jones and Will died. Their vacancies were supplied, in the order named, by A. G. Herndon, Richard B. Servant, Job Fletcher, William Weatherford and Braxton Parish.

The Governor stated in his message that he was unable to borrow $500,000 by hypothecating the canal lands, as that security was regarded insufficient. He thought there was no danger that a loan for the canal "on the credit of the State would ever become a charge on the treasury"; and recommended that it be authorized "as a pledge of the faith of the State." He also advised selling lots in Chicago (on canal lands) from time to time to pay interest on said loan. In response

* See Appendix, Note A.

to the Governor's suggestions, Mr. Herndon, of Sangamon, introduced a bill in the Senate providing for borrowing half a million of dollars, on the credit of the State, for the purpose of beginning work on the canal. The bill was discussed for two days in committee of the whole with Mr. Snyder in the chair, and when the committee finally rose, he reported back the bill with sundry amendments and it passed the Senate, and was subsequently adopted by the House. It was the first practical measure enacted by the Illinois legislature for commencing actual construction of the canal; and it also inaugurated the policy of borrowing money on the State's credit for internal improvements, which was continued by the two succeeding legislatures to the extreme of exhausting that credit.

The Governor met with no difficulty in obtaining the $500,000 loan "on the faith of the State," and on the 4th day of July, 1836, excavation of the canal was begun.* By the close of the year $39,260 was expended on the work. In 1837 there was an additional expenditure of $350,649; in 1838, $911,902 more; in 1839, $1,479,907; in 1840, $1,117,702. Work was then suspended for want of funds until 1845 when more money was borrowed by the State, and with proceeds of sales of canal lands and lots, excavation was resumed. The canal was completed in 1848 at a total cost of $6,557,681. In 1882 the legislature passed an Act ceding the canal, as a gift, to the general government, and that act of cession, submitted to the people at the next general election, was approved by a large majority. The government has not yet accepted

* The first canal commissioners appointed were Dr. Gershom Jayne, Edmund Roberts and Charles Dunn; that office having been created by an act of the legislature, passed Jan. 22d, 1826, "to consider, devise and adopt such measures as may be required to facilitate and effect" construction of the canal.

it, and each Governor we now elect still has the satisfaction of rewarding three of his henchmen with the office of Canal Commissioner, a sinecure with annual salary of $1,825 each, who have many employes receiving liberal pay also.

Reapportioning the State for representation required but little time. The outrageous, if not unconstitutional, gerrymandering to suit ambitious party aspirants, as now practiced—an outgrowth of political corruption and depravity—was then unknown. The task was referred to a committee of both houses, who soon adjusted the contiguous counties into compact districts, as directed by the constitution, and their report was adopted without question or discussion.

Improving material and social conditions of the people were demanding better roads, more bridges, better schools and improved means of transportation. For attaining those objects private capital was totally inadequate, and all were averse to taxation. The legislature was then appealed to with the hope that something might be acomplished by combinations of capital. Mr. Snyder, writing from Vandalia, Dec. 18th, 1835, to Mr. Koerner, said, "It would amuse you to see the number of persons applying for incorporations for various objects. There seems to be a spirit of enterprise and speculation abroad in the land. If our country does not rapidly march forward to prosperity it will not be for want of effort."

Many bills were passed, as in the session before, authorizing parties to open roads and build bridges. Colleges, academies and seminaries were incorporated in all parts of the State, and numerous acts were passed to incorporate turnpikes, insurance companies, railroads,

and canals. Had all the turnpikes, canals and railroads chartered by that session of the legislature been constructed no state in the Union, within the next forty years, would have been better supplied with the arteries of commerce than Illinois. Charters then cost nothing, and amounted to no more than an expression of the people of what they would do if they could.

In the letter of Mr. Snyder, before referred to, he further remarked, "On the subject of our railroad, I have not yet presented a bill. Two persons propose taking the work and completing it. I fear throwing this powerful monopoly of coal into the hands of a very few individuals. I am determined to draw up a charter that will open competition to all our citizens. I am satisfied that, at best, it will be more or less burthensome to many of us." His fears were premature and groundless. The railroad he referred to, from Belleville to St. Louis, progressed no farther than the act of incorporation, and the company that a year later constructed a railroad from the bluffs to the river to secure that "powerful monopoly of coal," in a short time found it very "burthensome" indeed.

Mr. Snyder, on Dec. 26th, offered a preamble reciting that the management of the West Point Military Academy was perverted so that sons of only the wealthy and influential were admitted as cadets, and the meritorious sons of indigent western persons were excluded, and other "gross partialities and acts of injustice" practiced; "Therefore, *Resolved by the Senate, &c.* That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to use their utmost endeavors to procure a reformation of that institution, to prevent the present abuses, and so alter the present mode of admis-

sion thereto, as to throw open the means of admission to the sons of indigent and meritorious citizens.

"*Resolved*, That if the above object cannot be attained, our Senators and Representatives in Congress are hereby instructed and requested to use their efforts to have said institution abolished."

On the 29th of December, 1835, Gov. Duncan informed the legislature, by special message, of the death of Senator Elias K. Kane, "so that an election may be held to fill his vacancy during the present session of the general assembly." On motion of Mr. Snyder, it was resolved that the two houses meet in joint session that day at 2 o'clock p. m., for that purpose, in which the House concurred. At the time specified, "Mr. Speaker called Mr. Snyder to the chair, and the Senate, preceded by Mr. Snyder, repaired to the hall of the House of Representatives, and then both branches of the general assembly proceeded, *viva voce*, to elect a Senator."* The candidates were William L. D. Ewing, James Semple, Richard M. Young and Alexander M. Jenkins. Mr. Snyder voted for Mr. Jenkins for the first nine ballots, and then supported Mr. Semple. On the twelfth ballot Ewing was elected, having received 40 votes and Mr. Semple 37, the other two having withdrawn. Messrs. Boyer and Moore cast their votes for Mr. Snyder.

The political career of Mr. Ewing was remarkable. After serving four years as receiver of the land office at Vandalia, he was appointed paymaster of the militia in 1825 by Lieutenant Governor Hubbard at the time that worthy attempted to usurp the executive chair in the absence of Gov. Coles, who accompanied Gen'l Lafayette to the east. He was elected Clerk of the House

* Senate Journal.

of Representatives in 1826, and again in 1828. He was elected a member of the House in 1830, also in 1836 and in 1840, and was elected Speaker of the House for each of the three terms. In 1832 he was elected State Senator, and, in 1834, became Governor of the State for fifteen days, and in 1835 was elected United States Senator for the term of sixty-five days. In 1842 he was again elected Clerk of the House of Representatives, where he had commenced in 1826, and while serving in that office he was elected, by the legislature, State Auditor to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of James Shields. He died, before the expiration of his term of Auditor, on the 25th of March, 1846. As before stated, he commanded a regiment in the Black Hawk war, and was a brave and efficient officer.

Much of the proceedings of that second session of the ninth general assembly has now a peculiar historic interest as illustrating the spirit and tendency of the times, and the ideas and aspirations of the people, reflected by the acts of their representatives. For instance, a bill was passed "relative to runaway slaves." Another "to protect stock from castor beans." The sum of $300 was appropriated "to the improvement of Purgatory on the St. Louis and Vincennes road." "An Act for the relief of the persons therein named," was amended by adding, "*Be it further enacted*, That the bonds of matrimony between Richard French and Elizabeth, his wife, be, and the same are hereby dissolved." A bill passed "For the relief of Timothy Gard," providing "that he be allowed the preemption of the fraction on which his coal furnace and stack now stand, for the purpose of erecting thereon a mill, the same not to exceed four acres, at fifty cents per acre." "An Act for the relief of

Thomas Redmond," was passed "allowing him further time—until the first of January, 1837,—to pay a debt of fifty dollars due the State, for lot No. 25, in the town of Vandalia." Mr. Hacker "from the select committee to which was referred the petition of sundry citizens of the town of Vandalia praying relief for *Clock Peddlers* and asking the repeal of the law passed January 31st, 1835, *Reported*, that they have had the subject under consideration, and are of the opinion that as the petitioners do not show that any portion of the State is *suffering* for the article of clocks, they can see no reason why the prayer of the petitioners should be granted, and ask to be discharged from further consideration of the subject." And they were discharged.

Mr. Snyder's resolution was adopted calling "the surviving commissioners having in charge the improvement of the Kaskaskia River to report to the legislature and settle the unfinished business of their trust." The report of the surviving commissioners, Edward Newsham and William L. D. Ewing, in response, concludes as follows:

"The Board cannot dismiss this subject without recommending to the serious attention of the legislature the importance of improving the navigation of this beautiful stream. From Shelbyville, in Shelby county, to its mouth, it affords, at all times, a sufficiency of water for a slack water navigation. The time cannot be far distant when the value and importance of this stream will be seen, and the improvement of its navigation no longer deferred."

An Act was passed "To improve the breed of cattle" —popularly known as "The little bull law"—that raised a storm of indignant protest throughout the State equal

to that caused by the Wiggins loan, and, as then, relegated to private life for all futurity many of the legislators who voted for it. The injustice of the law, as poor people viewed it, consisted in rendering small bulls running at large on the range liable to *severe penalties*; thus discriminating in favor of large bulls belonging to the rich and aristocratic.

After the bill organizing the county of Will had passed, Senator Thomas moved "to amend 'an Act to establish certain counties'" by filling the blanks therein with the words "Cass" and "Reynolds"; which on motion of Mr. Maxwell was referred to a select committee, that subsequently reported a bill establishing the counties of Kane, McHenry, Ogle, Whiteside and Winnebago—ignoring both Cass and Reynolds. In 1837 the name of Cass was given to a newly organized county; but that honor was never conferred on Gov. Reynolds, because he persisted in living until after all required counties were formed. However, the counties of Alexander, Bond, Edwards, Coles, Douglas, Edgar and Pope, were named by the legislature, after distinguished citizens of Illinois while yet living and still citizens of the State. It is a reproach to the State of Illinois that the name of Gov. Reynolds was not bestowed upon one of the counties, in recognition of his long and varied services to the public, in lieu of such inexcusable absurdities as DuPage, Christian, Champaign, Bureau, Jersey, Cumberland, etc. To counteract increasing agitation for removal of the State capitol from Vandalia, a representative in the interest of that town introduced a bill to remove the penitentiary from Alton to Vandalia, which failed to pass. Then a bill was offered in the Senate appropriating $30,000 for the erection of a new State

House at Vandalia, and was referred to the Finance Committee. Mr. Snyder from that committee "reported the bill back without amendment and recommended its rejection." It was rejected by 4 votes for, and 16 against it, in the Senate.

Early in the session resolutions were introduced in both houses by Democrats, endorsing the convention system, then coming in vogue; defending the administration of President Jackson, and approving the nomination of Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. They were hotly opposed by the Whig leaders, who discussed them with spirit and skill, but were adopted by strict party vote.

Mr. Snyder, chairman of the Finance Committee, in a lengthy report, stated that having been instructed by a Senate resolution to inquire into the cause of failure of certain printing ordered to be done at the last session of the legislature, his committee "finds that John York Sawyer, the Public Printer, is chargeable with non-compliance with the law and his contract, with negligence, and with omission of part of the journal of the last session," and recommend "that suit be brought against him and his sureties to cover the penalties prescribed by law for his failure and bad faith." Mr. Sawyer, for some reason, attributed the charges in the report to Senator William Thomas, of Morgan county, a member of the committee, and violently assailed him in the columns of his paper, the *Illinois Advocate*, charging him, among other things, with violation of his official oath. Judge Thomas as a question of privilege laid the matter before the Senate and asked for an investigation of Mr. Sawyer's charges. On motion of Mr. Snyder a committee of five was appointed for that purpose, com-

posed of Messrs. Snyder, Davidson, Parrish, Williamson and Strode.

On Jan. 12th, 1836, Mr. Snyder, chairman of that special committee, submitted to the Senate another lengthy report closing as follows: "From the foregoing statements your committee are forced to the conclusion, that the rankest injustice has been done to the Finance Committee, as well as to the character and conduct of Senator Thomas. The more we cherish the freedom of the press as the surest safeguard of the liberties of the people, the more deeply must we deprecate that licentiousness which wantonly and maliciously impugns the motives or acts of innocent individuals. Nor can it be considered otherwise than a high aggravation to assail, without cause, the conduct of public functionaries in the faithful discharge of a trust delegated to them by the people. Your committee would therefore recommend adoption of the following resolutions as the expression of the sentiments of the Senate.

"*Resolved*, That not a shade of suspicion attaches to the character or conduct of Senator Thomas, whom we consider entitled to the undiminished confidence of this body.

"*Resolved*, That the false and reckless charge of perjury preferred by John York Sawyer against one of our body ought to be met with the utmost reprobation and repelled with indignation."

The report and resolutions were adopted unanimously. Adjournment of the legislature six days later, and the death of Mr. Sawyer shortly after, terminated for all time the unpleasant controversy.

The Senate received from the House a message stating that it had adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested to use all honorable means to procure the passage of a law of Congress granting to the State of Illinois the right to enter, on a credit of ten years without interest, at $1.25 per acre, a quantity of United States lands, lying within said State, not exceeding five hundred thousand acres; the said lands, or the proceeds thereof, to be applied, under the direction of the legislature, to aid said State in works of internal improvements; and to be selected and entered by commissioners appointed by the Governor." The other resolution authorized the Governor "in case such law should be passed by Congress, to appoint commissioners to execute its purpose." But the Senate refused to concur in that modest request, and it devolved upon the next legislature to apply the credit of the State more directly to raise funds for internal improvements. As the hour approached for adjourning the second session of the ninth general assembly, on the 18th of January, 1836, Lieut. Gov. Jenkins called Mr. Mills to the chair, whereupon Mr. Snyder moved that the thanks of the Senate be "presented to the Speaker of the Senate," for his dignified, able and impartial conduct while presiding over their deliberations, etc., "which was unanimously adopted."

The amount of business transacted at that brief session of the legislature, between the 7th of December, 1835, and the 18th of January, 1836, is amazing. There was then no criminal waste of time and the people's money by legislators, as at the present day. No absentees were reported, excepting by cause of sickness. Each day of the week, from Monday morning at 10 o'clock until dark Saturday evening, the members were

busily employed in the conscientious discharge of their duties, excepting sufficient time for their meals and necessary sleep, with but one day (Christmas) vacation during the session. The compensation of members of both houses was three dollars per day. The presiding officer of the Senate and Speaker of the House received four dollars per day, and all were paid in addition fifteen cents a mile traveled in going to and returning from the capital.

CHAPTER IX.

Condition of the State in 1836—Mr. Snyder again a candidate for Congress—Is elected over Gov. Reynolds and William J. Gatewood—Tamarawa, the town projected by Mr. Snyder and Gen'l Semple—"The City of High Bluffs"—The tenth General Assembly—System of Internal Improvements inaugurated—Removal of the State Capitol authorized.

For three or four years there had been a growing desire among the people of Illinois for improved means of transportation. Charters were obtained in abundance from the legislature for railroads, canals and improvement of navigation of the rivers; but all were fruitless of practical results from want of funds to defray cost of their construction. The question of actually making those much desired internal improvements was agitated by all classes with increasing interest until it became the absorbing subject of thought and discussion to the exclusion of all other public matters. The people saw, with envy, at the close of 1835, that Massachusetts had 140 miles of railroads in successful operation; Pennsylvania had 218 miles of railroads, and was digging 914 miles of canals; and several other states were busily building railroads, canals and other public works. And, to add to their discontent, our nearest neighbor, even Indiana, had embarked in similar works, and was pushing them to completion with great energy. They could see no reason why Illinois should be permitted to lag behind other states no better off than it in the march of modern progress. Our level prairies, they thought, were especially adapted for railroads and artificial waterways, rendering their construction far less expensive than in New York, Pennsylvania or Indiana. The credit of the State, they said, was ample for procuring all funds necessary to make in-

ternal improvements that would cause it to rank in trade and commerce with other states in the Union. It was also argued that improved facilities of travel and transportation would so increase the population and wealth of the State, and, consequently, its revenues, that payment of annual interest, and speedy liquidation of the principal of the debt, would not be burdensome. The little trouble had by the Governor in obtaining a half million dollar loan on the State's credit for the canal, and the energetic prosecution of that enterprise, seemed to justify those views, and before the next general election the matter of internal improvements took absolute possession of the people's minds, perverting the common sense and blinding the judgment of the most staid and conservative of them.

At the beginning of the year 1836 the population of Illinois numbered over 270,000, of which 2,244 were free negroes, 340 were indentured and registered slaves, and 184 were slaves held under the old French laws. The State then had 60 organized counties, 339 manufacturing establishments, besides 916 mills of all kinds, and 142 distilleries. The enrolled "cornstalk" militia numbered 44,141. The total revenues of the State from all sources for the fiscal year amounted to $97,923, and the expense of maintaining the State government for the same year was $78,606, leaving a net balance in the treasury of $19,316. Notwithstanding the public indebtedness of over $700,000, the financial condition of the State was sound and that of the people exceedingly favorable.

The elections to be held in August, 1836, in Illinois, for Congressmen, members of the legislature, county offices, and, later, for President and Vice President, excited more than usual interest among the people, and

occasioned more than the usual activity among the politicians. The prominent local issue with the people was the question of internal improvements by the State. But upon that they were by no means unanimous. A large class were opposed, as a matter of principle, to incurring a public debt for such purposes. They wanted the improvements but thought they should be constructed by private enterprise and capital. Many old fogies were opposed to railroads for the reason that they would be too destructive of timber, believing that the roads were made of split wooden rails laid closely together "corduroy" fashion! There was strong opposition to the canal in the southern part of the State, on the ground that its benefits would be altogether local; that it was a sectional improvement calculated to build up the territory contiguous to it to the detriment of the balance of the State. But a majority of the people wildly advocated the immediate construction of a network of railroads and canals all over the State regardless of cost.

Several candidates were in the field for popular favors before the legislature adjourned, in January, and even before it convened in December. Among the earliest announcements of the kind was that of Governor Reynolds, who, wholly for the good of the country, again consented to permit his friends to ask for his re-election to Congress. The Whigs, as a party, were beginning to display considerable vitality, as their numbers in the State had largely increased since the last Presidential election, owing to increasing objections to Gen'l Jackson's financial policy and the unpopularity of Van Buren in the west. The plan of holding conventions to exclude undesirable aspirants from running who imagined they were the people's idols, or popular enough to be elected, was not yet adopted in the State by either party, and

caucuses were not always powerful enough to serve that end.

Mr. Snyder was chosen, two years before, by the anti-Reynolds faction of the Democracy in the first Congressional district, to oppose the Old Ranger, and was defeated. With that result neither himself or his supporters were satisfied and they concluded to try the contest again. Upon his return from Vandalia he announced to the public that he was again a candidate for Congress and intended to make an active canvass of the district. About the same time, Hon. Wm. Jefferson Gatewood,* of Shawneetown, also announced his candidacy for Congress in the same district. Reynolds and Snyder resided in the same town, were both Van Buren Democrats in perfect harmony on all public questions. "Jeff" Gatewood, as he was generally known, was born in Kentucky in 1804 and came to Illinois in 1823. He taught school in Franklin and Gallatin counties, at the same time studying law; was admitted to the bar in 1828, and located in Shawneetown. The next year he was appointed special commissioner to sell for the State the Gallatin county saline lands donated to Illinois by the general government. He was elected to the legislature from Gallatin county in 1830 and to the State Senate in 1834. He was a Whig candidate for Congress in 1836; and, changing to the Democracy in 1837, was elected to

* It was related in "Egypt" that when Jeptha Hardin was Circuit Judge of the Gallatin district, in 1836, in the progress of a case before him, Jeff Gatewood, one of the attorneys, became involved in a quarrel with him when arguing a motion, and losing control of his temper, called His Honor a liar. Any other Judge would have promptly fined the impudent lawyer for contempt; but that was not Judge Jeptha's idea of judicial discipline. "Sheriff," said he, "adjourn court for one hour, and bring Mr. Gatewood to the vacant lot behind the court house." That order was at once executed, and the Judge and lawyer immediately "shed" their coats, and proceeded to settle the insult by wage of battle. The conflict was short, sharp and decisive. Though Gatewood was a stout, athletic man, the Judge thrashed him soundly, and in less than half an hour was again on the bench dispensing law and justice.

the State Senate in 1838. He died, at the American House, in Springfield, while attending the supreme court, on the 8th day of January, 1842, aged 38 years. He was tall, large and fine looking, of jovial disposition; a good speaker and ready debater, and was considered a sound and able lawyer.

His party (Whig) in 1836 was in the minority, but gaining strength to that extent that he was encouraged to see a prospect of success over the divided majority whose candidates were both from the same county.

The Madison county circuit court was held in February, 1836. On Saturday before its commencement, a raw, cold, unpleasant day, Mr. Snyder and his partner, Mr. Koerner, rode on horseback from Belleville to Edwardsville, 30 miles. On Sunday morning Mr. Snyder was attacked by a severe chill, ushering in a violent visitation of pneumonia that confined him to his room for many days. Every possible attention and care were given him during the dreary days of his sickness by his close friend, Gen'l James Semple, and other citizens of Edwardsville, together with the best medical treatment there accessible; but it was late in April before he had regained his strength sufficiently to undertake the canvass of his district or attempt any unusual exertion, and then his physicians positively forbade him to make any public speeches or unduly expose himself. In writing to Mr. Koerner from Equality, Gallatin county, July 20, 1836, he said: "My health is rather improved, if any change. I believe I could be easily elected if it was in my power to make speeches and the usual exertion. I will beat Mr. Gatewood in his own county, but my opinion is that the election will again be close. If I am again beaten it will be the last time I will run. I have not yet met with Gov. Reynolds and have just learned that he

is married." He then requested Mr. Koerner to see Obermueller and Maus, in Belleville, and Imhoff in Lebanon, German grocery keepers, and "have them to furnish the people liquor on election day for me; for it would be mortifying to me not to receive a majority in my own county."

Gov. Reynolds did not return from Washington to canvass the district until a week or two before the election; but sent his constituents many printed circulars, and communications in the newspapers. He desired they would know that, as a faithful servant of the people, he could not desert his post in Congress to go home and work for re-election. His reluctance to neglect official duties was very commendable indeed; but it transpired that a more tender, if not higher, motive detained him at the capitol, when the papers published his marriage, in May, 1836, to Miss Sarah Wilson, a cultured and refined lady of Maryland.

The year 1836 marks the dawn of a new era in Illinois —a transition from the old order of things to the new; for which the public mind had been preparing for some years preceding. Old conservative business methods were discarded, and a loose system of unlimited credit substituted. The spirit of speculation, fostered by inflated paper currency and prospects of extensive internal improvements, became epidemic. People were distracted with avidity to get rich quickly. New towns were projected everywhere. Sedate business men, lawyers, preachers, mechanics, farmers, were seized with the belief that every town they platted would soon grow to the proportions of a city, and large fortunes could be realized by sale of town lots. More faith was placed in improved river navigation for development of the country

than in railroads and canals, that people knew little or nothing about. Consequently every eligible site along the rivers was staked out for a new town.

Among the many victims of the town-building mania were Adam W. Snyder and General James Semple. They were for some time very intimately associated in politics, in the practice of law, and in land speculations on a large scale. In partnership they laid out a town on the west bank of the Kaskaskia river in the southeastern corner of St. Clair county and named it Tamarawa, to perpetuate the name and memory of the Tamarwah Indians who formerly inhabited that region and westward to Cahokia. The Tamar-wahs were one of the five tribes constituting the Illinois confederacy, the other four being the Peorias, Cahokias, Kaskaskias and Michigamies. P. de Charlevoix visited Cahokia in October, 1721, and says in his journal: "We lay this night in a village of the Caoquias and Tamaroas, two tribes which have been united, and together compose no very numerous canton."*

The French alphabet having no "w" the vowels "o, u" are employed to express the sound of that letter, and by the rules of French orthography the terminal letter of a word when preceded by a vowel is silent. Consequently, Ta-mar-wah, as Charlevoix pronounced it, approximates almost exactly the Indian pronunciation of their tribal name. The third "a," between "r" and "w," in the name as spelled by Messrs. Snyder and Semple, was superfluous and wrong. Tamaroa, as the name is now usually spelled in modern Illinois histories and maps, is an unwarranted perversion.

They chose a beautiful site for their prospective town,

* Journal of a voyage to North America, etc., by P. de Charlevoix; translation; London, 1761, vol. 2, p. 218.

on a high bluff sloping gently down to the river—known as "Edgar's Bluff"—in the lower edge of Twelve-mile prairie, with an uninterrupted view of the Kaskaskia and its timbered hills and bottoms for several miles. It was on Claim* No. 2209, Survey 607, in what is now Fayetteville precinct. The town was platted in 48 blocks, each 300 feet square, divided into 12 lots, six on each side of an alley 20 feet wide; and the blocks were separated from each other by streets 60 feet wide, corresponding with the points of the compass. The town plat certified to before John Murray, a Justice of Peace in Belleville, was filed for record on the 21st of May, 1836, in the St. Clair county Clerk's office.

Within a short time after the plat was recorded, and after extensive advertising, a public sale of lots was held on the town site; and lengthy credit being given on deferred payments, the lots sold briskly. To "boom" the town and encourage bidding, and also perhaps by way of electioneering incidentally—as both proprietors were prominent politicians and candidates for office—a small steamboat was brought up the Okaw and tied up at the landing on "Water street." Aboard the craft was a barrel of whiskey, to which the crowd had free access, with lunch for all at noon.

Several purchasers of lots began immediately to build on them. On one a tavern was erected; on others, dwellings, store rooms, a blacksmith shop and a school house. A flatboat ferry was established to cross the river, and near by on the river bank a steam saw mill was built. By close of the year Tamarawa was quite a flourishing village. So promising was the venture that

* In July, 1835, Mr. Snyder purchased of Arthur St. Clair, Jr., claim 2209, Survey 607, containing 286$\frac{2}{3}$ acres, for $1,000, paying $1,000 down, and the balance in nine, fifteen and twenty-one months without interest; and shared the purchase with Gen'l Semple as partner.

Mr. Snyder, the next year, made an addition to it of 18 blocks and some fractional lots, filing his plat thereof, certified to before Esquire Robert K. Fleming on July 10th, 1837. For two or three years thereafter Tamarawa prospered and for awhile its continued life and growth seemed assured. Mr. Snyder, writing to Gen'l Semple, from Belleville, on March 21st, 1837, said: "We will raise our steam saw mill this week, and have placed it above the bluff on the lower ground. I gave Null and Irwin a bond to deed them as much ground under the bluff as will be required for the mill. We also have the timbers out for a grist mill in which Null & Irwin and myself are the partners. I can sell out of this for all cost as soon as it gets in operation.

On Wednesday I bought the eighth interest in a small steamboat that will make its first trip on the Kaskaskia in ten days, freighted for Tamarawa and Athens. The boat is owned by Sam Chandler, Narcisse Pensoneau, Tom Reynolds, Flanagan & Krafft, Holmes & Swanwick, of Chester, young Cole and myself. She cost us $4,000, is neatly built and handsome, carries sixty tons, and when fully loaded draws 23 inches of water." Tom Reynolds, Pensoneau, Chandler and others had laid out a town, named Athens, two and a half miles above Tamarawa on the opposite side of the river.

Tamarawa flourished for a while but it went down in the financial crash occasioned by reaction upon failure of the great internal improvement folly, and, sharing in the fate of hundreds of similar enterprises in the State, vanished from the face of the earth. A few years after its collapse not a vestige of the town remained, and for more than half a century its unmarked site has been comprised in a fine farm. While the town still seemed to have a favorable future, in 1838, Messrs. Snyder and

Semple dissolved partnership and divided the property remaining unsold, and each disposed of his part as rapidly as possible. As they purchased the land at a low price they lost very little if anything, by failure of their town.

James Semple was born in Green county, Kentucky, on the 5th of January, 1787. He was educated at country schools, and studied law, and when admitted to the bar commenced the practice of law in Louisville, Kentucky. On March 29th, 1820, he married Miss Ellen Duff Green, of Horseshoe Bottom, Russell county, Kentucky, and in the same year moved to Chariton county, Missouri, where his wife died childless, July 12th, 1821. In March, 1828, he removed to Edwardsville, Ill., and on the 5th of June, 1833, married Mrs. Mary Stevenson Mizner, niece of Gov. Shadrach Bond. In that year he was elected, by the legislature, Attorney General which he soon resigned. He represented Madison county in the 8th, 9th and 10th general assemblies, 1832-'38, and in the last two was elected Speaker. In the Black Hawk war he served as Adjutant of a mounted regiment, then as Aid to Gen'l Sam. Whiteside, and subsequently as a private in Capt. A. W. Snyder's company. He afterwards was a General of militia. In 1837 he was appointed by President Van Buren, Charge d' Affairs to New Grenada, South America. Returning, in 1842, he was elected an Associate Justice of the supreme court, and served from Jan. 16th to Aug. 16th, 1843, when he resigned to accept from Gov. Ford the appointment of U. S. Senator, and was elected by the next legislature to fill the unexpired term of Senator McRoberts. He died at his home in Jersey county on Dec. 20th, 1866, in the 69th year of his age, and was buried in Bellefountaine cemetery, St. Louis. His wife, one son and three daughters survived

him; the son, Eugene Semple, serving a few years ago as Governor of the State of Washington. Six feet four inches in height, of splendid proportions, with strong, expressive features, dark hair and eyes, General Semple was a perfect specimen of manhood. He was also strong intellectually, a fine scholar and good lawyer, a successful financier and statesman, and a cultured gentleman.*

An account of all the dead towns of Illinois would make a voluminous and very interesting chapter of its history that should be written and perpetuated. The mania for speculating in new western towns spread eastward from Illinois, gaining intensity until it almost equalled the furor incited by John Law and his "company of the west," in Paris in the early years of the eighteenth century. Farmers sold their live stock, and, in some instances, their lands for money to invest in town lots. Others borrowed to the extent of their credit for the same purpose. Eastern merchants eagerly bartered their goods for lots in new western towns they had not seen and never before heard of. There was a general rush to secure property in those towns before they became large cities and their real estate values had unduly appreciated. That strange infatuation invited fraud, and many frauds were perpetrated.

In Belleville there resided a sharp Cahokia Frenchman having no regular vocation, and of the class of speculators now known as "promoters." He had some education, was full of resources and sleepless energy, but short on conscientious scruples. Having failed in several enterprises, he founded a new town, altogether on paper, as a bold venture. In St. Louis he employed a skilled draughtsman to draw the plan of a large town

* No satisfactory biographical sketch of Gen'l Semple has yet been written; but the Illinois State Historical Society will probably publish an adequate account of his life and public services in the near future.

located on the east bank of the Kaskaskia river, several miles above Tamarawa, to which he gave the name of the "City of High Bluffs." Whether or not he owned any land on the picturesque Okaw at that point is now not material. The "city" was represented to be situated in the midst of the most beautiful natural surroundings on high open ground gradually declining in grade to the river. The lots, neatly drawn, were numbered far up into the hundreds, with finely embellished parks, and here and there a graceful church edifice. On two corner lots were pictured solid-looking bank buildings of Gothic architecture, and on others were school houses, colleges, hotels and hospitals. Near the river were shown great warehouses, two mills and various factories. A heavily-laden steamboat was depicted approaching the wharf from below; other boats were at the landing, taking on and putting off huge quantities of freight, and still another boat loaded down to the guards, was just leaving the city to ascend the noble river. All of that was lithographed on large sheets of heavy paper in the highest style of art. Supplied with a number of copies, the "promoter" left for the eastern cities late in the fall. He returned in early spring by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi, with an immense stock of miscellaneous merchandise he had received in exchange for city lots, which he converted into cash as speedily as possible. He was not at home when agents of eastern mercantile houses came west to look up their city property, and his dupes were unwilling to incur additional loss by prosecuting him.

German immigrants who had for three or four years come into Illinois in gradually increasing numbers, in 1836 literally poured into it by thousands. They brought with them considerable capital in specie, and the indus-

try and frugality characteristic of their race. They came —not as did the Kentuckians, to run for office—but to find new and permanent homes where, by labor and thrift, they might better their condition. They went to work contentedly, and utilized the means at hand to the best possible advantage. Had our restless native residents emulated their example and adopted their conservative business methods, improved means of transportation demanded by developing commerce and increasing productions would in time have been introduced into this State as needed—and by private capital, as was done subsequently—without public embarrassment.

The people of Illinois, prior to 1837, were prosperous, but had become dissatisfied with the slow, certain profits of legitimate, patient, industry, and were infected with the phantasm of quickly acquired wealth. The speediest way to realize that object, they concluded, was to place the State on a material and financial parity with the older eastern States by constructing at once an extensive system of railroads, completing the Illinois and Michigan canal, and removing obstructions in the principal rivers of the State that impeded their safe and expeditious navigation. Visionary demagogues proclaimed, on the stump and in the newspapers, the ability of the State to make all such improvements by borrowing money upon its credit, without imposing any burdens upon its treasury or upon the people. The bonds of the State, they said, would sell in either home or foreign markets at enormous premiums; those premiums, indeed, would easily defray all cost of the proposed improvements, and the bonds would be returned to the State and canceled. And then, they urged, the net earnings of the railroads and canal, thus acquired, would for many years pay all ordinary expenses of State government,

thereby assuring the people from taxation. Such egregious nonsense as that seemed plausible to backwoodsmen who had never seen a railroad or canal, and they gave it their unqualified assent.

The State election occurred on the 19th of August, 1836, resulting in a sweeping victory for the Democrats. In the first Congressional district Adam W. Snyder was elected by a small but decisive majority:* 4,245 votes were polled for him, 4,062 for Reynolds, and 2,127 for Gatewood. Those figures probably represented the actual strength of the two Democratic candidates in the district, Mr. Gatewood having no doubt received the entire Whig vote, and that alone. Had Mr. Gatewood not been a candidate Gov. Reynolds would undoubtedly have been re-elected, as the Whigs generally regarded him, of the two Democratic candidates, the less obnoxious to their party and principles. Though successful by the narrow majority of 183, Mr. Snyder and his friends were highly elated, regarding his election a brilliant victory, retrieving his defeat two years before, and carrying St. Clair county, the home of himself and Gov. Reynolds, by the handsome plurality of 682—almost three to one. When the official returns of the election were received,

* The following is the vote in detail for Congress in each county of the district:

Counties.	Snyder.	Reynolds.	Gatewood.
St. Clair	1080	398	83
Madison	574	412	650
Macoupin	101	624	203
Randolph	316	305	235
Washington	117	226	20
Clinton	137	273	37
Bond	273	91	117
Perry	220	114	28
Jackson	177	203	23
Gallatin	301	529	391
Johnson	150	101	50
Alexander	108	177	51
Franklin	314	442	13
Pope	153	167	226
Monroe	224 maj.	...	...
	4245	4062	2127

and the result definitely known at Belleville, the friends of Mr. Snyder, irrespective of party, celebrated his success at the county seat in mass meeting and an all-night jubilee. After dark they formed in procession on the public square, and with fife and drums, flags and torches, marched to his residence. There they fired a salute with flint-lock muskets, rifles and horse pistols, and then serenaded the Congressman-elect with an improvised band of flute, fife and violins. In response to that demonstration interspersed with deafening cheers, Mr. Snyder appeared on his front porch and thanked his supporters and friends in a neat speech that was received with boisterous applause and more fusilading.

Mr. Snyder writing to Gen'l Semple, from his home, on the 18th of August, 1836, said: "I suppose you will come by here on your way to Monroe (court.) I am not certain that I will be able to go with you. The truth is, my health is so very bad that I am afraid to attempt to practice any more this fall. You have no idea of the injury speaking does me.

Reynolds is completely chop-fallen. He dies very hard; is scarcely ever seen out of his house; and his usual wit and broad stories are now silent. He looks badly; but has no notion of resigning, as he said he would if beaten, before the election. The boys illuminated the town on my return from Edwardsville. Such a time they had I never before heard of. Every fence, house, tops of chimneys, windows and doors were stuck full of lighted candles. Barrels of tar hoisted up on the top of tall poles in the public square, were set on fire, and all the music and fire-arms in the town and neighborhood were brought in requisition. The old as well as the young, and all the church members joined in the

festivity. Such a demonstration was never before seen in this place. You can imagine the mortification it must have caused Reynolds and his bride. I tried to stop it on their account, but that was impossible; and it was with great difficulty I restrained them from seizing and destroying Fleming's press and type.* I will have all the vote of this county for you beyond any doubt. I am anxious for your success, and to that end you have *carte blanche* for my influence, *trade* and *promise*. I know the warm and zealous part you took for me, and I will reciprocate."

Zadok Casey was returned to Congress in the second district, and William L. May was elected in the third.

Mr. Snyder was in impaired health all summer. The attack of pneumonia he had in February was, in truth, the beginning of the end—the first skirmish of a long conflict with an enemy too powerful to be successfully resisted by his deficient physical resources. Inflammatory disease, like an adroit general, attacks the weakest point, which, in his case was, unfortunately, his pulmonary organs. He was sustained, however, by his indomitable will and ambition, and continued actively attending to his multifarious duties, and business without cessation.

The universal and incessant discussion of the internal improvement question began after the election to assume the definite form of popular instructions to the recently elected State representatives. Meetings for that purpose were held in many of the counties, and delegates selected to a convention called to meet at the

* The St. Clair Mercury, Bob Fleming's paper, was a subsidized Reynolds organ. At the August election Gen'l Semple was elected to the legislature in Madison county, and was a candidate for Speaker of the House, to which he was chosen in December.

State capital simultaneously with the meeting of the next legislature, in December.

That legislature, elected in August, 1836, including some of the hold-over Senators, was, for mental strength and ability of its members the most remarkable of any yet chosen in Illinois. No previous general assembly of our State, and very few since, have comprised such an array of brainy, talented men, or as many who subsequently gained such conspicuous eminence in the annals of the State and nation. In the Senate were Orville H. Browning, Cyrus Edwards, William J. Gatewood, John S. Hacker, Robert K. McLaughlin, Henry I. Mills, William Thomas, John D. Whiteside and John D. Wood. And in the House were Edward D. Baker, John Hogan, Milton Carpenter, Newton Cloud, Richard M. Cullom (father of U. S. Senator Cullom), John Dement, John Dougherty, Stephen A. Douglas, Jesse K. Dubois, Ninian W. Edwards, Wm. L. D. Ewing, Augustus C. French, John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, Usher F. Linder, John Logan (father of Gen. John A. Logan), John A. McClernand, James Semple, John Moore, William A. Richardson, James H. Ralston and Robert Smith. In this list are found one President of the United States, six who have occupied seats in the U. S. Senate, eight Congressmen, three Governors, three Lieutenant Governors, two Attorney Generals, five State Treasurers, two State Auditors, one Superintendent of Schools, and several Judges.

At the November election, 1836, Martin Van Buren, for President, and Richard M. Johnson, for Vice President, carried Illinois by the plurality of only 2,983 over Harrison, many Democrats refusing to vote for Mr. Van Buren, and some objecting to Johnson. The Whigs, not

having adopted the convention method of uniting on one candidate, voted for three or four, Hugh L. White, Daniel Webster, Willie P. Mangum and William Henry Harrison. The Democrats were disappointed in the result of the election and their meagre majority in the State, and the Whigs correspondingly elated, as it was really encouraging evidence of the growing strength of their party.

The internal improvement convention met at Vandalia, simultaneously with the convening of the legislature, Dec. 5th, 1836, and was largely attended. The delegates, some of whom were members of the general assembly, were wildly enthusiastic for railroads at any cost. For two days they deliberated upon the momentous question before them, and finally embodied their conclusions in a set of resolutions to be presented to the legislature demanding the construction of a system of railroads, and improvement of rivers for navigation, the estimated cost of which would amount to $7,450,000, to be paid for by the sale of bonds of the State. The resolutions were accompanied by an elaborate memorial setting forth, in florid language, the incomputable benefits the State and people would derive from the proposed improvements, and clearly demonstrating the perfect feasibility of the grand scheme.

Only a summary of the proceedings and results of the tenth and eleventh general assemblies (sufficient to maintain the primary design of presenting an outline of the history and progress of the State during the period of Mr. Snyder's life in it), is permissible in the limits of this memoir. That the tenth general assembly, especially noted for the intellectual strength of its leaders – admittedly the ablest legislature that, to that time,

had ever convened in the State—should enact the reckless and unreasonable measures it did, baffles all explanation. The legislation of the eleventh general assembly was no improvement whatever on that of the tenth; and, but for exhaustion of the State's credit, would probably have been worse—if such were possible.

The Whigs had the ascendency in the Senate, and, by a strict party vote, elected William M. Davidson its presiding officer in place of Lieut. Gov. Jenkins who had resigned. Jesse B. Thomas, Jr., was again elected Secretary. The House was overwhelmingly Democratic, and re-elected James Semple, Speaker, over Newton Cloud and John Dement. It is perhaps worthy of remark that in that election for Speaker, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Lincoln voted together for Mr. Cloud.

In his message to the legislature, Gov. Duncan expressed more decided approval of internal improvement legislation, and reiterated his recommendation of establishing free schools, and otherwise liberally encouraging the cause of general education. He emphasized his endorsement of the new banking system by urging the legislature to increase the State's subscription to its capital stock from the $100,000 authorized by the last legislature to $1,000,000.

He then caustically criticized the administration of President Jackson, and suggested that its many errors and offences merited from the representatives of the people of Illinois an unequivocal and emphatic rebuke. That cheap and uncalled for "buncomb" injected in his message for political effect, was answered by the House by a set of resolutions commending and praising the Jackson administration in the most "unequivocal and emphatic" language, which were adopted by the vote of

64 to 18. The consideration of those resolutions provoked another irritating discussion, in the House, of the slavery question, resulting in another set of resolutions, as expressive of the sentiments of the people of Illinois, condemning the interference with, or disturbance of, the institution of slavery as it then existed in the southern states.

That set of resolutions was adopted by the votes of every member of the House excepting those of Abraham Lincoln and five others.

On the 14th of December the legislature elected a U. S. Senator to succeed William L. D. Ewing, who had served out the unexpired term of Hon. Elias K. Kane. Five candidates for the place were presented, who received, on the third ballot, the following number of votes; Richard M. Young* 68, Samuel McRoberts 24, Archibald Williams 17, William L. D. Ewing 12, Thomas C. Browne 7.

On the 16th of January, 1837, the legislature held another election, then for State officers, selecting Levi Davis for Auditor, John D. Whiteside, Treasurer, and Usher F. Linder, Attorney General.

* Judge Young was born in Kentucky in 1798, and, coming to Illinois at an early age, settled in Jonesboro, Union county, and there practiced law for some years. He was tall and spare made; a fine speaker, well learned in the law, and a courteous gentleman. He was elected circuit judge by the legislature in 1824, and when the judicial system was reorganized by the next legislature he was retained one of the supreme court justices. He served on the bench eleven years, and, in that time, assisted in revising the statutes. In 1839 Gov. Carlin appointed him one of the fund commissioners to negotiate a foreign loan for the State. His failure in that agency did not seriously affect his public standing, as, shortly before the expiration of his Senatoral term, Feb. 4, 1843, he was again elected one of the associated justices of the supreme court. He served in that capacity until January, 1847, when he resigned to accept the appointment, from President Polk, of Commissioner of the general land office. He was relieved of that position by the change of administration, in 1849. Later he served as Clerk of the national house of representatives, and was then for some time a claim agent in Washington City. By stress of political and financial vicissitudes his overtaxed mind gave way, and he was confined in an insane asylum, in Washington, a raving manac, part of the time restrained by manacles and chains. He was discharged from the asylum, recovered, in 1860, and died shortly afterward.

The two questions monopolizing the interest of the tenth general assembly, were internal improvements and removal of the State capitol. Stephen A. Douglas, one of the six representatives of Morgan county, was chosen by the internal improvement convention, before its adjournment, to present to the legislature the plan it had formulated for a system of railroads and river improvements. That he did by introducing a bill in accordance with the resolutions and memorial adopted by the convention, specifically detailing the improvements to be made, and setting forth that the work should be done, and the improvements be owned, by the State, and the necessary funds to pay cost of construction should be borrowed by the State upon its faith. His bill was referred to the Committee on Internal Improvements, and by it favorably reported.

After ample discussion, and some amendments enlarging the original plan, the bill was passed, in the House, on the 27th of February, 1837, by 61 votes in its favor to 25 against it, and passed in the Senate by about the same proportionate vote.

Among the twenty-five dissenters in the House were William A. Richardson, John J. Hardin and William A. Minshall. In the Senate it was opposed by O. H. Browning, William Thomas and a few others. The Council of Revision returned the bill with the objection that the public works it proposed could be safely and economically constructed only by private capital and incorporated companies chartered by the State. Under the leadership of Stephen A. Douglas the bill was again passed by the constitutional majority vote over the veto, in both houses.

Acting no doubt upon the maxim that "a public debt

is a public blessing," the bill provided—to commence on —the following grand works, at the estimated cost set forth for each, and authorized the sale of State bonds to meet the sums thus appropriated:

For construction of a railroad from Galena to Cairo, the "Illinois Central R. R."	$ 3,500,000
For the Northern Cross Railroad, through Springfield	1,800,000
For the Alton and Mt. Carmel Railroad	1,600,000
For the Peoria and Warsaw Railroad	700,000
For Branch of the Central Railroad to Terre Haute	650,000
For Branch of the Central Railroad to Alton.	600,000
For the Bloomington and Mackinaw Railroad.	350,000
For the Belleville and Mt. Carmel Railroad.	150,000
For improvement of navigation of the Wabash, Illinois and Rock rivers, each $100,000	300,000
For improvement of the Little Wabash and Kaskaskia, each $50,000.	100,000
To placate those counties having no rivers to be improved, and not traversed by any of the contemplated railroads, there was appropriated, for improvements of their roads and bridges	200,000
Making a grand total of	$10,200,000

Added to that, an Act was passed increasing the stock of the State bank $2,000,000, and of the Shawneetown branch $1,400,000. Another bill was passed directing the sale of Michigan and Illinois canal lands to the amount of $1,000,000, and authorizing another $500,000 loan to be expended on the canal in 1838.

The law of 1819 directing removal of the State capitol from Kaskaskia to Vandalia, specified that it should re-

main at the latter place for twenty years. That limit was imposed in contemplation of the probable northward shifting of the State's center of population which by that time would necessitate a corresponding change of location of the capitol. The marvelous growth of Chicago, and rapid settling of the northern counties after the Black Hawk war, began to demand a permanent central location of the seat of government at, or near, the geographical center of the State. A bill was passed as before stated, at the first session of the ninth general assembly, January, 1835, submitting the question of relocation of the capitol; but as neither Vandalia, Springfield, Alton, Jacksonville or Peoria could command the required majority, no further action was taken.

In 1836 the State House in Vandalia was in such dilapidated condition as to be scarcely tenable. A new one would have to be provided, and as a bill providing for the erection of a new State building in Vandalia could not be passed, one was introduced for removal of the capitol. It appropriated the sum of $50,000 for a State House, conditioned on donation of an equal sum by the citizens of the town in which it was decided the capital would be fixed. That measure was the special charge of the two Senators and seven representatives of Sangamon county, since known in history as the "Long Nine."

The members of that delegation were remarkable for length, averaging six feet in height each. They were Archer G. Herndon and Job Fletcher, Senators, and Ninian W. Edwards, William F. Elkins, Dan Stone, John Dawson, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew McCormick and Robert L. Wilson, representatives. They were

astute and influential men, united in their efforts to secure removal of the capitol to Springfield, the object for which they were elected. They succeeded in having their bill passed, on the 25th of February, 1837, by log rolling with the friends of every other measure presented; or threatening to withhold their support from the same, the canal and other internal improvements especially; and by the practice of all arts of persuasion and coercion known to influence recalcitrant, or indifferent, members.*

On the 28th of February the two houses met to select by ballot a location for the permanent seat of government of the State. Four ballots were taken resulting as follows:

	1st	2d	3d	4th
Springfield	35	43	53	73
Jacksonville	14	15	9	1
Vandalia	16	15	16	15
Peoria	16	12	11	6
Alton	15	16	14	6
Illiopolis	—	10	3	—
Scattering	25	7	15	7

* A few years ago Mr. A. S. Edwards, of Springfield, son of Hon. Ninian W. Edwards, one of the lengthy nine, when looking over some old papers of his father's, found the following itemized account:

Vandalia, Ill., Feb. 28th, 1837.

Col. Dawson To E. Capps	Dr.
To 81 bottles Champaigne at $2 each	$162 00
" Drinks	6 00
" 32 lbs. Almonds	8 00
" 14 lbs. Raisins	10 00
" Cigars.....	10 00
" Oysters.....	10 00
" Apples	3 00
" Eatables	12 00
" Breakage	2 00
" Sundries	50
Rec'd pay of N. W. Edwards, March 4th,	$223 50

E. Capps.

"Uncle" Ebenezer Capps kept a public house in Vandalia for several years, and was generally known by all politicians of Illinois of that era. He moved to Springfield along with the State capitol, and resided there until his death.

The legislature then elected a Board of fund commissioners to negotiate the loans authorized for making the grand system of internal improvements; and a board of commissioners of public works, composed of one member from each judicial district—few of whom had ever seen a railroad or canal—to superintend construction of the proposed works. "And, as a crowning act of folly, it was provided that the work should commence simultaneously on all the roads at each end, and from the crossing of all the rivers."*

There had been no surveys or estimates made of the specified railroads; no one knew where the material for their construction could be obtained, or what it would cost; or where the money to pay for it could be secured. In that condition of bewildering uncertainty the legislature adjourned on the 6th of March, 1837.

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 184.

GENERAL JAMES SHIELDS.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Snyder discovers James Shields—His carriage stalls in the Okaw sloughs, and he suffers in consequence—Gov. Reynolds embarks in Railroad building—Condition of Illinois in 1837—Mr. Snyder goes to Washington—Visits Connellsville, Pa., the place of his birth—His health improved for a short time—The Alton riots and death of Lovejoy—Mr. Snyder in Congress.

All through the winter of 1836-7 Mr. Snyder's health was fairly good. He did not visit Vandalia while the legislature was in session, but remained at his home and office, finding ample employment there in the management of his private affairs. He was necessarily deeply interested in the proceedings of the legislature, of which he was kept as closely informed as possible by the tri weekly mail service over the wretched roads of southern Illinois. He was at first inclined to favor the plan of internal improvements by the State, but on a very limited scale as an experiment. The magnitude and extent of improvements authorized by the legislature, in profound ignorance of every detail of their construction and cost, and the enormous State debt they would create, convinced him the scheme was impracticable and altogether an egregious mistake.

He was especially opposed to inflating, at the expense of the State's credit, the capital stock of the banks; but favored removal of the State capitol to Springfield.

Early in 1837, Mr. Snyder, with James Mitchell, D. B. Reel, Charles Sargent and Timothy Hinckley, formed a joint stock company and purchased the large brick steam mill built in Belleville, in 1832, by Richard Rapier, who was financially embarrassed, and gave it up to his creditors. Mr. Hinckley was installed as manager of the mill, and, in a few years bought all the stock and was

the sole proprietor. In the unpublished personal memoirs of Gov. Koerner, he says: In 1836 "I attended the fall sessions of court diligently. In one or two counties Mr. Snyder was able to be with me. We were defending a very interesting case of murder in Clinton county, and here it was that I made my first acquaintance with James Shields, who was also employed on the defense. Mr. Snyder, when canvassing the district for Congress that year, came across him and formed at once a high opinion of his ability; so that when in the fall he defended Gannett, being himself still unable to exert himself much, invited him (Shields) to assist us. I opened the case, Shields examined the witnesses with skill, Snyder made a brief, but very impressive speech. It was a tolerably bad case; but we succeeded in clearing our client, a farmer living where Aviston now stands. As Mr. Snyder had soon to leave for Washington City to attend the special session of Congress in 1837, and as his health was such as to forbid an active practice at the bar, at least for some years, he proposed in the spring of that year to retire from practice. Shields in the meantime had been elected a member of the legislature from Randolph county, to fill a vacancy at the special session of the legislature, and had just returned from the seat of government. Mr. Snyder was desirous of having Shields at Belleville, and suggested to both of us to go into partnership. In June we formed a business connection, and we succeeded very well; but had to dissolve it in 1841, Shields having been elected Auditor of State by the legislature, which made it necessary for him to reside at Springfield."

James Shields was born at Dungannon, County Tyrone, Ireland, in the year 1810, and came to New Orleans

in 1826. Making his way to Kaskaskia the next year, he there engaged in school teaching, and read law in the office of Hon. E. K. Kane. He was admitted to the bar in 1832. In 1836 he was elected to represent Randolph county in the legislature. He changed his residence to Belleville in 1837 and practiced law there. In March, 1841, he was elected State Auditor by the legislature. In 1842 he challenged Lincoln to fight a duel, which resulted in a ludicrous farce. In 1843 he was appointed by Gov. Ford an associate justice of the supreme court, and in 1845 he received from President Polk the appointment of Commissioner of the general land office, and the next year, 1846, the President commissioned him a brigadier general of volunteers. His military career in the Mexican war was brilliant. He was dangerously wounded in storming the heights of Cerro Gordo on the 18th of April, 1847, by a Mexican musket ball of copper weighing an ounce passing through his right lung. Returning to Illinois after the war he was tendered the Governorship of Oregon territory which he declined. In 1849 he was elected to the U. S. Senate, defeating the then incumbent, Sidney Breese. ("The musket ball that passed through Shields' lung killed Breese—politically," was then the current jest among politicians.) Killed himself, politically, by the Kansas-Nebraska schism in his party in 1855, he left Illinois and located in Minnesota, where he was again elected to the U. S. Senate for one year to fill a vacancy. He then resided in California for a year or more, when, in August, 1861, he was appointed by President Lincoln a brigadier general in the civil war, which position he resigned in 1863, and located on a small farm in Carroll county, Missouri. There, at the age of 53, he married a lady of Irish birth.

In 1868 he was elected to Congress, but being a Democrat and necessarily disloyal, was not permitted to take his seat. In 1877 he was elected to the legislature, and at the same time was appointed Adjutant General of Missouri. In 1878 his friends urged him for election as doorkeeper of the lower house of Congress, but he was not elected. However, he was given a pension of one hundred dollars per month. During the winter of 1878-9 the Missouri legislature elected him U. S. Senator for the unexpired term of Senator Bogy, deceased, thereby conferring on him the unique distinction of having represented three different states in the U. S. Senate. Retired to private life he passed his time in study and lecturing. On the night of June 1st, 1879, he suddenly died at Ottumwa, Iowa. Nearly six feet tall, rawboned, straight and soldier-like, with ruddy complexion and dark hair, his face and manners were singularly pleasing and ingratiating. Large-hearted, and generous to a fault, he was idiotic in all details of business and finances, and but for his pension would have died in abject poverty. He was a fluent, witty and eloquent speaker, and though not a profound scholar, no one ever made a better display of his natural and acquired abilities than he did. No one was ever more loyal to his country, to his friends, and to the loftiest conceptions of honor and justice than was Gen'l Shields.

An accident occurred to Mr. Snyder in the early days of March, 1837, trivial in itself, but resulting in very serious consequences to him, as time proved. In company with Mr. Koerner, he had gone to Nashville, county seat of Washington county, to attend the spring term of court there. Of what transpired on their return, Mr. Koerner gives, in his personal *Memoirs*, written more than half a

century later, the following graphic account, but, by a curious lapse of memory, he places the incident in 1841, instead of 1837. "The rivers were very high, and the Okaw (Kaskaskia) river we had to cross was out of its banks; had overflowed a great part of the bottom, and some sloughs (dead arms of the river) were not fordable. In consequence of that we took a round about road by Fayetteville to reach Nashville. After the court was over we started for home, and Mr. Snyder proposed to take the direct route, it being some ten miles nearer, having ascertained, as he said, that the river had fallen, and that the big slough was fordable. In fact, the stage to Shawneetown had come through the night before we started. We were in a top-barouche drawn by two stout horses. A young lawyer by the name of Case, having business in Belleville, was taken in by us. I drove. It was a bright, but quite cold and frosty morning (first week in March) and we went on very well. When reaching the slough, which was there about one hundred and fifty yards wide, I stopped, discovering that it was what is called 'swimming.' But Mr. Snyder insisted, inasmuch as the stage had come through, we could risk it. I remonstrated, remarking that while I had seen the fresh tracks of the stage all along, there had been none for the last mile or so. Well, I drove in; when about half way the horses lost their footing, would not draw any more and were in the water up to their necks, struggling and one horse throwing his neck and head over the neck of the other. Our first idea was to relieve the horses. I got out on the pole trying to cut the collar straps and the traces; but I broke the blades of all three pocket knives we had, and did not succeed. I was in the water up to my armpits. Mr. Snyder and

Case stood on the seats of the carriage. The weather was icy cold, in fact there was some thin ice on the slough. Mr. Snyder remarked:

"If we don't get out soon we will be stiffened up so much that we will not be able to swim." We were wrapped up in great coats, and had heavy boots on. Case jumped out first and got on the shore without trouble. In fact the distance he was swimming was not more than about twenty yards. Mr. Snyder got out next, and being very tall, had to swim but a short distance. I was the last. I always had been a very indifferent swimmer and never had swam with clothes on. But I not only got through, but having lost my hat in jumping out, I swam back and got it. When I made the plunge I was half inclined to think that I could not make the trip, but Case being a very fine swimmer, I presumed that he would come to my rescue. The moment we had all got out, the horses, whie swimming a little piece, pulled the carriage over. There were men on the other side, who took hold of the horses and carriage, and taking them further down the slough where it was fordable, brought the carriage back to us. There was no house within a mile. The road was very rough, and the horses could only walk. Feeling very cold I left the carriage, ran as fast as I could, and got to a log cabin. The husband being out hunting, I asked the woman for trousers and a shirt, which she very willingly furnished. At a rousing fire, I put on a butter-nut suit, and when my friends arrived I felt already quite comfortable. Mr. Snyder pulled off his coat and vest and laid down in a bed well covered up. I could not persuade him to put off his shirt and underclothing. My clothes having dried very quickly I gave the shirt and

trousers of our back-wood host, who had come home, to Case. The good woman made us some very strong coffee, baked corn bread and broiled us slices of bacon. So we fared pretty well. In a couple of hours we left; but could not reach home that night. Our host explained the matter to us. The stage had passed on this direct route the night before; but had forded the slough about half a mile below to where the road goes ordinarily through it, driving through the woods; the water below being several feet lower than above. The only damage I suffered was the spoiling of two law books which were in my saddle bags, and the loss of a deck of cards with which we had played a game of whist the night before. I did not even catch cold. But Mr. Snyder took a severe cold, and, in fact, his disease ever since that accident took a downward course."

In 1837, Illinois was aroused to new life, and stirred with a new spirit of progress and activity. Every interest and industry received new animation from the State's splendid prospects and promising future.

The legislature seemed to have suddenly discovered a new power in the State's credit possessing the necromancy of Aladdin's lamp, with the genii of wealth and prosperity for its slave. Its new banks with vast capital, its great lines of railroads under contract, with completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal assured, and improvement of navigation of its rivers commenced, the State was apparently marching on to its high destiny with giant strides. Its seventy counties were all fast gaining population, and those in the northern portion particularly, were speedily filling up with sturdy settlers crowding through Chicago, a city already recognized as the metropolis of the northwest.

Speculation, for some time at fever height, became a delirium. More new towns were laid out; better houses and barns were built; carriages, pianos and fine furniture were imported from the east, and everything salable appreciated in price.

Mr. Snyder exercised clear judgment in his land speculations, both in buying and selling. He knew the sudden dazzling prosperity of the country was unstable as an iridescent bubble, and as certain to burst in a limited time, and made due preparations to meet the inevitable collapse. He availed himself of the advance in property values to recover his investments in Tamarawa. As soon as the steam mill was finished he sold his interest in it to George Stuntz and Abel Thompson. In March, 1837, he wrote to his partner, Gen'l Semple, "Lots are raising in value in Tamarawa. I sold six last week at fifty dollars each. The ground in front of the town, if laid off and put up for sale will bring two thousand dollars. We had better dispose of it in this way. The truth is the sooner we sell the better, for Athens is improving and getting along faster than us from the fact of its having the road. In my opinion now is the time to sell."

They sold an undivided third interest in the remaining lots to Gustavus Koerner, and a large area of land adjoining the town to different parties at ten and twelve dollars per acre. By the first of 1839 Messrs. Snyder and Semple were no longer property owners in the town of Tamarawa.

Removing the State capital to Springfield gave that muddy village magnified importance, though it depressed Vandalia; and Alton only needed completion of the canal and the three great trunk-line railroads terminat-

ing there to make it equal to Chicago, and a successful rival of St. Louis.

Gov. Reynolds, temporarily out of office, was seized with the prevailing railroad mania. Associating with himself a few men of means in a joint stock company, they built a railroad from the bluffs, in St. Clair county, across the American Bottom, to the river bank opposite St. Louis, for transportation of coal to that city. The road was six miles in length, and at the foot of the bluff, crossed a lake, 2,000 feet wide, on a rickety bridge supported by piles driven down into the mud. The road was commenced and finished in 1837. In structure it was a crude and cheap affair; but yet it was a *rail*road, having longitudinal wooden rails, six by eight inches square, without iron, for the car wheels to run on. The motive power was horses.

Gov. Reynolds, Sam B. Chandler (who married his stepdaughter, Adeline La Croix), George Walker and Daniel Pierce comprised the company who constructed the road without legislative charter. Gov. Reynolds was the largest stockholder, owning an extensive tract of coal land on the bluff—upon which he started a town named Pittsburg,—and two-thirds of the land in the Bottom over which the road passed. The building of this tramway, or railroad, was a very important event in St. Clair county, and its progress was daily watched by crowds of people with curious interest.

It was the first railroad constructed and put in operation in Illinois, and indeed in the Mississippi valley.* But it came prematurely. From a combination of causes it proved a failure, and was sold to another company at a ruinous loss—the Governor alone losing about

* This claim is contested by a similar tramway, four and a half miles in length, built in 1831 from New Orleans to Lake Ponchartrain.

$17,000. The new company rebuilt the track, spiked strap iron on the rails, and substituted a primitive locomotive for the horse-power: but still it could not be made to pay, and in a few years was abandoned. The ties and rails were sold, or carried away by adjacent settlers in the Bottom; the culverts rotted and fell in, and in a short time every trace of that pioneer railroad disappeared, excepting the long double row of oak piles that stretched across the lake. Divested of their superstructure they stood there, resisting the destructive agencies of water and weather, for many years, melancholy reminders of a blasted enterprise that in its failure presaged the coming of a new and grand era for Illinois.

That long lake at the foot of the bluffs, known to the French settlers as *Le Grand Marais*,—the remnant of an ancient bed of the Mississippi—was drained many years ago and the route of the Reynolds road occupied by the Pittsburg railroad that for a long time terminated at Belleville, and later was continued with its title changed to the Louisville Air Line.

The sanguine expectations of the public inspired by the magnificent projects of the legislature, received a sudden shock by an occurrence, discouraging as unexpected, a harbinger of future trouble, that proved ultimately a serious detriment to every business and industrial interest in the State. The banks all over the country suspended specie payment, forcing the Illinois banks to suspend also. As a precautionary safeguard, the law establishing the Illinois banks stipulated that their suspension of specie payments for more than sixty consecutive days, if not further prolonged by the legislature, would work forfeiture of their charters and force

them into liquidation. As there was not the remotest probability—hardly a possibility—of their resumption of specie payment within the time specified the Governor issued a proclamation for the legislature to meet in extra session on the 10th day of July, 1837, to legalize the failure of the banks to redeem their obligations in coin.

On that date the general assembly convened at Vandalia in response to the Executive's call. In his message to them, Gov. Duncan advised repeal of the internal improvement laws enacted by them at the last session, adding the sound advice that, "the disasters which have already fallen upon the commercial world suggest the necessity of escaping the perils of a system which can only be fraught with evil." But no heed was paid to the Whig Governor's wise recommendation. The bank failures received full legislative sanction; but the internal improvement folly was not repealed, and, after a session of eleven days, the legislature adjourned.

The first earth removed in beginning the gigantic system of railroads was in May, 1837, on that part of the "Northern Cross" road from Meredosia to Jacksonville; and that was the first section of it finished two years later. The Board of Fund Commissioners, Thomas Mathers, M. M. Rawlings and Charles Oakley, proceeded to New York City after adjournment of the special session, in July, to sell State bonds. They found the credit of Illinois to be rated as first-class, and, notwithstanding recent bank suspensions and consequent depression of the money market, they succeeded, in a short time, in selling 4,869 $1,000 bonds at par, 100 at a premium of 5 per cent, 200 at 2½ per cent and 1,216 at 2 per cent above par. Subsequently more bonds were sold, realizing for

the State, atogether, $5,668,000. The Board of Public Works elected by the legislature comprised William Kinney, Murray McConnell, John Dixon, Milton K. Alexander, Ebenezer Peck, Joel Wright and Elijah Willard. Upon organization of the Board, William Kinney was elected its President. Each member was director of construction in his district, and as fast as surveys were made, he contracted for construction of sections surveyed.

Mr. Snyder, writing to Gen'l Semple on the 3d of June, 1837, said:

"I regret to state that my health is so extremely bad I cannot meet you at Vandalia, to which place I learn you have gone. The fact is, about half of my time I am confined to my house with sickness. I have lost all hope of ever regaining good health, and unless my journey to the east effects an improvement I may not last long. I will start to Washington in my own carriage about the first of August. * * * * * I do not think Reynolds wants to run for Governor, but wants to get back to Congress. He and his friends believe I will die at Washington next winter. No other man in the district, he says, can run near him; so he will not commit himself until he sees further. It behooves us to fix upon some man to run for State Senator in Whiteside's place, as we have but little time for arranging matters. Old Gen'l J. B. Moore, of Monroe, wants to run—at least he told me so some time since. Major James Moore, of Alton, I know, would like to run. I think I could, if it was thought necessary, start John Starkey of our county on the track. He is true blue, and strong in both this and your county. I will be glad to hear from you on this subject."

(It may here be stated that John Starkey, a Democrat, was put on the track for State Senator and was defeated at the election by Gen'l J. B. Moore, the Whig candidate.)

Mr. Snyder at that time was thirty-eight years of age, and an invalid in advanced stage of pulmonary tuberculosis. He was painfully aware of his condition, but

his ambition and passion for public life overcame the dictates of prudence and dread of the certain issue. His wife and nearest friends begged him to resign his place in Congress and remain at home, for the gravity of his symptoms sustained the opinion of Gov. Reynolds, and many others, that he would not return alive. Spurred by his sense of duty to his party and constituents, and upheld by some undefined hope, about the first of August, he set aside his business engagements, and leaving Messrs. Koerner and Shields in charge of his law office, bade adieu to his family and friends, and took his departure for the national capital. He, however, abandoned his original plan of traveling in his own carriage all the way, but conveyed in it to St. Louis he there took passage in a steamboat for Pittsburg, Pa. Changing boats there he proceeded up the Monongahela river to Brownsville, and on, by stage, to Uniontown; thence to Connellsville, the place of his birth. That was his first visit to the home of his boyhood since he left it, in the spring of 1817, afoot and alone, to seek his fortunes in the boundless west.

There can be no doubt of the sentiment of pride and self satisfaction animating him when he returned to that village a wealthy and prominent lawyer, honored by his neighbors for six years with a seat in the Senate of his adopted state, and then on his way to represent them in the national Congress. His father and mother had some years before gone to their final rest. His brother and sister were delighted to see him; and the reception accorded him by companions of his youthful days and old friends of his parents, who felt the distinction he had gained somehow reflected honor upon their town and community, was a touching ovation that amply com-

pensated him for many of his early hardships. From far and near the people came to greet him and press upon him the hospitalities of their homes, and express their glad appreciation of his success. A week passed pleasantly in renewing old acquaintances, and visiting scenes of his youthful struggles with poverty, and feasting with friends, when he proceeded by stage, by way of Cumberland, Md., to Washington City. His health improved from the time he left home, and when his destination was reached he felt so much restored that he fancied—and hoped—he had been granted a prolonged respite from the terrible disease with which he was heroically contending.

From Connellsville Mr. Snyder wrote to Gen'l Semple on August 8th:

"I reached this place, the spot of my nativity, on yesterday. My health is, I think, slightly improved. * * * * May* came in company with me to Wheeling. He is very bitter against Judge Young, so much so I will not be surprised if a personal encounter takes place between them at Washington. He says he will not be driven from the Democratic ranks, that the people will sustain him, and that Forquer, Young, and a few others, are the cause of all his difficulties. He is very friendly to you, fervently wishing that you had been elected† instead of Young. He blames McRoberts for having defeated you, and says Reynolds is the most deceitful man he ever knew, and that Robinson is always drunk—all of which, I have no doubt, is strictly true."

Writing from Baltimore on August 18th, he said:

"I meet hordes of Germans going west—in one day 374—all bound for Illinois and Missouri. My health was considerably improved by the mountain air and water of western Pennsylvania."

The Twenty-fifth Congress was convened in extra session on the 4th of September, 1837. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, was elected to preside over the House of

* Hon. Wm. L. May, representative in Congress of the Springfield, Ill., district.

†To the U. S. Senate.

Representatives as Speaker, and Hugh A. Garland, of Virginia, was chosen for Clerk. Mr. Snyder was assigned to the same committees as were his predecessors, Slade and Reynolds, on Roads and Canals and Postal Affairs. The Illinois delegation in the Twenty-fifth Congress were John M. Robinson and Richard M. Young, Senators, and Adam W. Snyder, Zadok Casey and William L. May, Representatives. The most noted Senators in that Congress were Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John J. Crittenden, Col. Yell, Franklin Pierce, William C. Preston, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun, Silas Wright, Thomas Bayard, Thomas H. Benton, William C. Rives, William R. King and William Allen. In the House were Henry A. Wise, John M. Mason, John Quincy Adams, Millard Fillmore, Caleb Cushing, Thomas Corwin, John Bell, Waddy Thompson, R. Barnwell Rhett, R. M. T. Hunter, Gen'l Prentiss and James Harlan.

No national or international questions of unusual importance were presented to that Congress for its consideration. Our country was at peace with all the world—excepting the Seminole Indians of Florida. The great victory won by the Texans at the battle of San Jacinto, fought on the 21st of April, 1837, was followed by the establishment of the Republic of Texas, symbolized by its flag with one lone star; and its independence was promptly recognized by our government. Its annexation to the United States, then a foregone conclusion, was, however, not consummated until 1845.

Mr. Snyder's first speech in Congress, quite brief, but to the point, was delivered, on the 16th of October, in committee of the whole, when the bill authorizing the issue of $10,000,000 of treasury notes for maintenance of the government—the object for which the special session was called—was under consideration.

Late in October, after the extra session of Congress adjourned, Mr. Snyder went north, by advice of his physician, to Philadelphia, New York and Boston, and from the latter city made quite a tour of several of the New England states, and was remarkably benefited—though but temporarily—by the journey. He returned to Washington about the first of December with the glow of health upon his cheeks, his weight increased, all the physical functions invigorated, and apparently on the high road to complete convalescence. For a brief time he was revived in strength and spirits, and the future again began to brighten with inspiration and hope.

It was late in the autumn of 1837 when the disgraceful riots occurred at Alton resulting in the deaths of Lyman Bishop and the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy. To the early settlers of Illinois, generally from the southern States, the "Yankees," or natives of New England, were particularly odious. This dislike may have been hereditary, originating in the civil wars of England, two centuries before, in the times of Charles 1st, and transferred to America when the descendants of the Cavaliers settled at Jamestown, in Virginia, and those of the Round Heads, or Puritans, on the bleak shores of Massachusetts. The contempt for "the race of clock peddlers and manufacturers of wooden nutmegs" entertained by many of the southern-born Illinoisans, was not mitigated by the fact that Yankees who came west—all but the office seekers—were, as a rule, blatant advocates of the abolition of slavery.

Lovejoy was a native of Maine, a typical Yankee, a Presbyterian preacher and a fanatical Abolitionist. Coming west he located in St. Louis, in a slaveholding

state, where society was dominated by pro-slavery sentiment. As an aid to his exalted mission of preaching the gospel, he established there a paper, ostensibly the organ of his church, and from its beginning a virulent exponent of Abolitionism. For a time but little attention was paid to him; but his incessant malignant denunciation of slavery and slave-holders incensed the people of St. Louis to such uncontrollable fury that they destroyed his press and drove him away.

He then went to Alton with another press, to continue his Abolition crusade there; but the same pro-slavery element, in the ascendency there, unwilling to be annoyed by him, seized his printing outfit and threw it into the river. Calling the citizens of Alton together, he stated that his intention was to publish a religious paper, solemnly promising to exclude from its columns all discussion of irritating political questions. With that understanding money was contributed and another press was purchased for him.

For awhile all went well, and his paper was creditably conducted in the interest of his church. But, influenced by Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, Rev. Mr. Hurlbut, Rev. Mr. Graves, and other New Englanders equally fanatical in the cause of Abolitionism, and more aggressive and far abler than himself, he again filled the pages of his paper with fiery attacks upon the institution of slavery and unstinted abuse of all who dared to disagree with him.

Liberty of speech and of the press are the most precious boons of our free and enlightened government; but even those blessings may be abused beyond the point of tolerance—as the sympathizers with the south in northern States during the civil war discovered, and as has since been forcibly impressed upon Anarchists, Social-

ists and Mormons in certain localities. The reformer guided by reason and justice may be respected, and even admired, by those unable to accept his doctrines; but the virulent agitator, though right in principle, moved by blind fanaticism, or insane prejudice, can only be regarded as a social pest. By his aggravating, uncalled for public abuse and personal antagonism, in a non-slaveholding community, Lovejoy, though sincerely conscientious in his course, made himself a pestiferous nuisance. To rid themselves of that mischievous source of social and political discord, an excited mob collected and again threw his press and type into the river. The mob spirit of the people of Alton was fully aroused, and all classes were intensely excited. Lovejoy and his friends ordered another press, and organized themselves into a well armed company to defend and maintain its liberty. They marched into church under arms on the Sabbath to defend their liberty of speech. The citizens opposed to the Abolition party were equally determined that the nuisance should be permanently abated.

In that tension of feeling the fourth Abolition press arrived on the evening of November 6th, 1837, and was stored in the warehouse of Godfrey, Gilman & Co., near the river. Lovejoy and his adherents, armed and equipped for trouble, took their position in the warehouse to protect their property. The weather was mild and the night clear and pleasant.

The mob, apprised that the press had arrived, gathered soon after dark at the warehouse. Their demand for the press was justly and defiantly refused. Then a charge was made on the warehouse to carry it by storm, when an upper window was raised and a shot fired—by Lovejoy, it was said by those with him—and a bystander

named Lyman Bishop, a young man taking no part in the mob's action, fell mortally wounded and expired in a few minutes. The murder of Bishop infuriated the mob, and some one suggested burning the warehouse; and soon a blazing ball of cotton saturated with turpentine was thrown upon the roof. Others placed a ladder against the end of the building having no windows or doors in it, and a citizen with cooler judgment than the others engaged there in the work of destruction, went up the ladder with a bucket of water and extinguished the fire. While descending the ladder, Lovejoy came out from a front door and deliberately fired at him, and dodged back into the house. His aim, however, was faulty, and the man was uninjured. Several shots were then exchanged by the mob and those in the second story, without effect. At that stage one of the mob ascended the ladder and again set the roof on fire, when Lovejoy and a companion again emerged from the same door and fired at the man on the ladder and missed him. Before they could re enter the warehouse they were fired upon by several of the mob, and Lovejoy fell, exclaiming, "My God! I am shot," and in a few minutes gained the martyr's crown. The man with him was wounded in the leg. The death of Lovejoy ended the siege. The fire on the roof was extinguished. The defenders of the press surrendered it to the frenzied mob, and it quickly followed the others into the river. Both parties then dispersed and the furious excitement soon subsided. Prosecutions were instituted in the courts, but no one was convicted.*

There, of course, can be no justification of the lawlessness of the St. Louis and Alton mobs that destroyed

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 234 et seq.

Lovejoy's property and abridged the constitutional liberty in defense of which he sacrificed his life.

Scarcely seven years later, at Carthage, in Hancock county, occurred another tragedy far more atrocious, and with less palliation, than that at Alton. There the soil of Illinois was again stained with the martyr's blood sacrificed to conscientious convictions, by the cowardly assassination, on June 27th, 1844, of Joseph and Hiram Smith, unarmed, defenseless prisoners in legal custody, by those to whom their protection had been entrusted by the Governor of the State.

About that time Catholic churches were burned and priests mobbed by the "Know Nothings" in our enlightened eastern states; and on the threshold of the twentieth century Mormon churches were destroyed and Mormon elders mobbed in certain sections of our country. Mob violence attempting to suppress obnoxious dogmas—or unpalatable truth—will probably continue to be exerted, under circumstances of great provocation, until the moral forces of civilization shall have eradicated the remaining savage instincts of man's brutal origin.

Lovejoy, like John Brown, was the victim of his own ill-judged zeal in attempting to force a people to surrender their life-long and most tenacious prejudices. A stately monument has been erected at Alton to commemorate his martyrdom; but it has not erased from the fair page of our State's history the reproachful blot of his violent death and its attendant circumstances.

Reviewing that lamentable occurrence at Alton in the light of stupendous events since transpired in our State and country, interesting, though fruitless, speculation is suggested relative to the probable material results to

Alton, had its people then been in sympathy with Lovejoy and his anti-slavery crusade. At that time Alton was in active competition with St. Louis for commerical control of the west. It had the State prison, and monopolized the output of the Galena lead mines. Its extensive trade and business was in expectancy of large increase upon completion of the canal and contemplated lines of railroads terminating there. Its position was advantageous for commanding traffic on the Illinois and Missouri rivers, and also that of the upper Mississippi.

St. Louis, its rival, in a slave state, was a stronghold of the slavery propaganda. In the then increasing hostility to the institution of slavery in the northern states, had Alton, in a free state, enlisted in the cause of Abolitionism with spirit and unanimity, New England capital, energy and enterprise would very probably have concentrated there in force sufficient to turn the balance in its favor. But seven-tenths of the citizens of Alton were as radical in their pro-slavery proclivities as were those of St. Louis. The Lovejoy riots, so unmistakably expressing the public sentiment of Alton on the subject of slavery, repelled the tide of Yankee immigration, with its push and capital setting strongly to that place, and threw it back upon Chicago, where the metropolis it created stands as one of the world's wonders. And Alton, enamored of a hideous idol, lost its opportunity and was left far behind.

So long as the condition of his health permitted him to occupy his seat in the House, Mr. Snyder was a very attentive and industrious member. He participated actively in all the business, and several of the debates, of the special session, and by resolutions, and otherwise,

exerted himself to comply with the many requisitions upon him by his State and constituents, for aid and information.

In the regular session, on Dec. 6th, he suggested the repeal of so much of the act postponing until the 1st of January, 1839, "payment of the fourth installment of deposits with the States," and "that provision be made for immediate payment of the same." His object—similar to that of many other measures proposed at that session—was to relieve the distressing stringency of money matters occasioned by suspension of the National bank and that of the greater number of all the banks of issue in the country. On Dec. 13th, Hon. John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, "proceeded to consideration of the motion made by himsef on yesterday to refer certain memorials and petitions against the annexation of Texas to a select committee." Mr. Adams addressed the House at length in support of his motion, and "in the course of his speech was several times called to order by the Chair, and by Messrs. Petrikin, Snyder and Rhett. Mr. Snyder called the gentleman from Massachusetts to order for accusing the citizens of Alton, in Illinois, of being guilty of murder and arson, in his reference to the recent death of Lovejoy." Mr. Snyder demanded of the Speaker if he would be permitted to answer the remarks of Mr. Adams arraigning and aspersing the character of his constituents of Alton by charging them with the crimes of arson and murder? If that permission would be granted him he would give his consent for the gentleman to proceed; but, if not, he was, in justice to his constituents, compelled to call him to order. Mr. Adams, "at this stage, asked leave of the House to proceed, and demanded the yeas and nays;" but before the

vote was taken Mr. Adams withdrew his remarks in reference to the Lovejoy riots, and promised not to refer to that subject again, whereupon Mr. Snyder withdrew his call to order.

On Dec. 18th, Mr. Snyder moved for establishing a surveyor-general's office in the State of Illinois. Jan. 1st, 1838, on motion of Mr. Snyder, the memorials and resolutions of the legislature of Illinois heretofore presented to the House on the subject of the location and construction of the Cumberland road through Illinois were referred to his committee, that on Roads and Canals.

With commencement of the regular session, in December, 1837, Mr. Snyder, whose physical condition was materially better than it was in the past summer, took his seat in the hall of representatives with high expectation of accomplishing something during the session for his state, and so serving the people of his district as to convince them of his ability and desire to guard and promote their interests.

On the 2d of January, 1838, he wrote to his friend, Judge Koerner, as follows:

"The holidays being over, I think we will go at business in earnest. Abolitionism, annexation of Texas and difficulties with Mexico are the principal topics of discussion. The subtreasury bill will be reported in the Senate next week, some different, as I understand it, from the last.

"I see the Board of Commissioners (in Illinois) have placed under contract a great deal of the railroads. I fear we have undertaken too much. What effect has it had on real estate? I have heard of few, or no sales since fall. I fear produce is falling in Illinois. I see pork advertised at $2.50 in Jefferson county. What is it in Belleville? You know it is a kind of staple from which we can readily judge the price of most other products, particularly corn.

"The weather continued fine until today, and now it is snowing. I have never seen so fine a fall and winter as we have had up to this time. * * * * In about fifteen days you may expect to receive a copy of the new subtreasury bill, and I will then tell you whether it can pass or not. My wife writes me that Tom Short, of Kaskaskia, is dead. He was a clever man, and a friend of mine."

Mr. Snyder was an enthusiastic and well-informed politician, with peculiar aptness and fondness for discussion and debate, particularly of political questions, which in those days passed well for statesmanship. He was at his post every day when the House was in session, a close observer of, and participator in, as far as admissible, all its proceedings. While thus busily engaged he was suddenly stricken down without warning, on the evening of January 7th, with severe and painful hemorrhage of the lungs, that completely prostrated him for several days, and changed his buoyant hopes to the most gloomy forebodings. Again writing, on the 11th of January, he said:

"Semple left here yesterday evening for New York, in fine spirits. The evening he got here I had another hemorrhage from the lungs. Night before last another. I am confined to my room, and this is the first day I have been able to sit up and write. The evening before this attack came on I weighed 179 pounds* and thought I was going to be once more a sound man. This has painfully convinced me that I never will be well again.

"I see the Vandalia paper states that I have submitted my claims (for re-election) to a convention. I have no recollection of giving any such authority.

"I wish you would inform me whether the mail route from Belleville to Kaskaskia *via* Tamarawa has yet been put in operation. The bid of Mr. Robert Morrison at $277 per annum was accepted. I hope he will carry it."

* It was while apparently so much improved in health that he had his miniature portrait painted, from which the frontispiece of this sketch was copied.

Notwithstanding Mr. Snyder's fearful relapse his active mind was as constantly occupied with political and business matters as when in health. He had large outstanding interests requiring his attention, and, eager to again enter the contest with Reynolds, he intended to offer as a candidate for re-election to Congress in 1838, but his wretched condition admonished him that he must relinquish all further exertions. Again addressing Mr. Koerner on January 22d, he said:

"My health is now bad, and has been worse. I was attacked with bleeding from the lungs two weeks ago and had five different hemorrhages. I am some better but improve slowly. I thought that I would entirely overcome my disease, but find it worse now than ever. * * * * I admire the highminded, chivalrous disposition of the gallant Shields. He is a worthy descendant of Erin's best and proudest. I love the man whose soul sympathizes with struggling patriotism wherever it may be. But he will have no opportunity at present to indulge his *penchant*, as the news today is that Navy Island is abandoned, the patriots dispersed, and the whole matter ended. * * * * I state to you in *confidence:* for I do not wish it to come from me, that the nominee for Governor (Col. Stephenson) is a defaulter to the amount of $38,000. Unless he can pay it, you must know he can't get along. I repeat that Reynolds had better be put on the track should the other withdraw, which, under the circumstances, he must, I think. * * * * Semple is still in New York, and will sail in six days. He is much pleased with his appointment. Col. A. P. Field, from Vandalia, is here figuring about in fine company. He comes and sits with me frequently."

So soon as the invalid rallied sufficiently to be able to sit up for a few hours he was taken in a carriage to the House, and the *Journal* of Jan. 28th, states: "On motion of Mr. Snyder, it was *Resolved*, That the Committee on Commerce be instructed to enquire into the expediency of creating ports of entry and delivery at Chicago, Alton and Cairo, in the State of Illinois." On the same day.

Mr. Snyder presented the memorial of 359 citizens of St. Clair county, in the State of Illinois, "praying that Congress may adopt some measure by which all connection between banks and the general government may *be totally dissolved*." In presenting that memorial "Mr. Snyder said he was personally acquainted with almost every person whose name was appended to that paper; they were highly respectable and influential men. He recognized among them the names of the judges of the county court and their clerk; the sheriff of the county, two lawyers, eight or ten justices of the peace, one member and one ex-member of the legislature, with many others of the most prominent men of the county. Neither could he (Mr. Snyder) omit to mention the name of Hon. John Reynolds, his distinguished predecessor, doubtless favorably known to many gentlemen of the House, who had also placed his name on this *hard money memorial*. Mr. Snyder said he was thus particular in stating the number and character of the memorialists and their object, because he had noticed a statement in the *Vandalia Register*, printed in Illinois, saying that a paper had been transmitted to him (Mr. Snyder), one of the Representatives in Congress, from St. Clair county, signed by eight hundred voters, being a majority of the legal voters of that county, requesting him (Mr. Snyder) not to vote for the divorce bill.* This article, Mr. Snyder said, was going the rounds of the western papers, and he thought it his duty to correct the misrepresentation: the more so, because that print had, on other occasions, been guilty of similar conduct towards him. Mr. Snyder moved that the memorial be referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, and that it be printed."†

* "Divorce" of the government from the banks.
† House Journal of 25th Congress.

Through the efforts of Mr. Snyder, aided by Senator John M. Robinson, Gen'l Semple received from President Van Buren the appointment of U. S. Minister to New Granada (now Columbia), and called on Mr. Snyder at Washington when on his way to Santa Fe de Bogota, the capital of that South American republic. In 1839 Mr. Snyder obtained of the President leave of absence for Gen'l Semple, who returned to Illinois for his family, and with his wife and children went back to Bogota, where they remained until late in 1842 when he was relieved by the new Whig administration. In that remote South America town Hon. Eugene Semple, a few years ago the Governor of Washington Territory, the only son of Gen'l Semple, was born, in 1840.

CHAPTER XI.

Invalid life in Washington—Mr. Snyder's discouraging struggle with the inevitable.

It was a custom of the French Catholics who early settled in Illinois, when a member of the family died, to destroy, as speedily as possible, the wearing apparel, and all other articles intimately associated with the daily life of the deceased, excepting such as had commercial or legal value, in order to remove such constant reminders of the loved one that by their presence tendered to keep afresh the fountains of grief. In obedience to that sentiment, at Mr. Snyder's death, not only his personal raiment, but all his correspondence, papers, documents, note books, and every scrap of his writing found upon the premises, were gathered together and burned with solemn reverence.*

Thus it was that when the task of writing this memoir was undertaken, with the exception of his last Will and Testament, two letters to his youngest son and a few fragmentary notes for a speech, not a line of his manuscript was known to be extant. The preliminary notes for this sketch were about completed when Mrs. Mary K. Englemann, of LaSalle, daughter of the late Gov. Koerner, of Belleville, discovered among her father's old papers quite a number of letters he had received from Mr. Snyder when in Congress, in 1838-9, which she kindly placed at the disposal of the writer. They were private and confidential communications to Mr. Koerner, his

* Mr. Snyder himself destroyed many letters he received immediately after answering them. In one of his letters to Gen'l Semple he said, "I am very careful and generally burn political letters, not trusting my best friends with those matters."

trusted friend and law partner, to whom he imparted his thoughts and hopes, his pains and disappointments, without restraint or reserve.

Sometime later Gov. Eugene Semple, of Seattle, Washington, sent to the writer many letters written by Mr. Snyder to Gen'l Semple, from 1831 to 1840, of the same character.

By shedding occasional rays of light upon the political contentions of that era they possess some historic interest; but they are chiefly valuable—as a voice from the grave—in portrayal of their author—the man of luminous mind and genial, generous nature; the true unselfish friend; the optimist of ambition and tireless energy; the submissive sufferer, stricken down upon the threshold of an honorable and successful career—in stronger light than can be done by any biographer at this late date with the meagre data at hand. Liberal extracts from those letters are herein presented, omitting only matters of private or professional interest of no present interest to the public.

On January 16th, 1838, at the worst phase of his relapse, he wrote as follows to Gen'l Semple, who a few days before had bid him—as he believed—a last farewell, and taken his departure for New York en route to South America:

"I received your letter from Baltimore, and, on yesterday, the one from Philadelphia. I have had some hemorrhage from the lungs every day since you left. Today I feel better, but God only knows how long it will be so. Every moment I fear a recurrence of the trouble. I before have had but two attacks in succession; this time I have had eight, and have become painfully convinced that I can never get well. Impressed with this fact some time before leaving home, I wrote my last will and testament, and in it appointed yourself, Shields and Koerner executors and guardians for my three boys, with power to sell real estate, if neces-

sary, to educate them well. I mention this now because you are leaving the country, and before you return to it you may safely calculate that your old friend will have been gathered to his fathers. May I ask you another act of friendship in addition to the many I have heretofore received from you; that you will extend to my boys a guardian care—not to their property, but, I mean, for their morals, character and education. If they have talents, or worth, give it direction, and aid them with your advice, counsel and influence that they may become valuable citizens. I should like to have one educated for the army, one to study law, and the other to engage in mercantile or agricultural business; but above all, let them be well educated.

"I regret to trouble you with this melancholy subject on the eve of your departure, but you know how solicitous a man in my situation is to provide for his children, and how consoling it is to believe they will be cared for when he has ceased to live. My estate is almost unencumbered, and I will leave an ample sufficiency for my wife and boys.

"May God bless you and return you safely to your family is the fervent wish of your friend."

Gen'l Semple's answer to this letter is lost, but its purport can be inferred from Mr. Snyder's next note to him on January 21st, in which he wrote:

"Your very feeling and kind letter reached me today. I am better, yet still have slight hemorrhages. My mind is easier since I wrote to you, and more so since I received this letter assuring me that you will see to the welfare of those I leave. I may rally for awhile from this relapse. God only knows. It has caused me to look upon death, so far as it concerns myself alone, with perfect indifference. * * * * * Dr. Linn, in one of his fits of despondency, came near dying last night from suffocation in his room, where fire destroyed the window curtains and part of his bed. * * * * * *"

Dr. Linn was one of Missouri's U. S. Senators. The incident Mr. Snyder briefly mentions in above letter is narrated in full detail by Robert Dale Owen in his book entitled *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World*, published in 1868, as a remarkable instance of presentiment.

Dr. Linn was confined to his room by an attack of indigestion, and Mrs. Linn, one of the most attractive of Washington's society ladies, attended a state dinner to which they both had been invited, after Gen'l Geo. W. Jones promised her he would remain with Dr. Linn during her absence. In the midst of the repast Mrs. Linn suddenly became agitated and very pale, and begged her escort, Gen'l McComb, to take her home immediately. Asked if she was ill, she said she was not, but that Dr. Linn was in great danger. So urgent was her request that Gen'l McComb acompanied her to her home at once. On arriving there she ran up to Dr. Linn's apartment and opening the door found the room filled with dense smoke and the Doctor unconscious in his burning bed. He was taken out and the fire was extinguished, but several hours elapsed before he regained consciousness, and weeks before he entirely recovered. Had his rescue been delayed three minutes, the physicians said, his life would have been extinct. Gen'l Jones had left him in a quiet sleep half an hour before Mrs. Linn's arrival. The origin of the fire was unknown.

The expended severity of Mr. Snyder's relapse—like a Dakota blizzard—gradually abated, leaving him weak and much dejected. But with slowly improving strength came increasing interest in public affairs and the proceedings of Congress, and a restless desire to resume his work. On the 20th of February he was again in his seat in the House for a few hours, and again on each succeeding day, remaining at his post until physical exhaustion forced him to return to his bed. The House journals of February and March state that Mr. Snyder presented the papers of William B. Livesly, of Washington county, in the State of Illinois, asking that he may be permitted

to relocate eighty acres of land entered by mistake. Also, the petition of Peter Samuel Jaccord, of Johnson county, in the State of Illinois, on the same subject; both of which he moved to refer to the Committee on Public Lands. Also the petition of George Kinder, Jubilee Posey and Joel Whiteside, of Madison county, to authorize the Receiver of Public Moneys at Edwardsville, Illinois, to refund them the amount of money and interest which they paid over and above the amount of land purchased by them, owing to a mistake in the land office books of the actual number of acres contained in the respective tracts; which was also referred to the Committee on Public Lands. On March 13th, 1838, Mr. Chamberleng, of New York, from the Committee of Ways and Means, submitted an additional item of $20,000 for completion of the public building at the seat of government of Wisconsin Territory, under the Act of Congress of 1836. To this Mr. Bell objected. Mr. Snyder made another objection to the construction of a permanent building there, namely, that the territory would probably soon be divided, and the present location of the seat of government would then be removed, as it would fall on, or near, one side of those divisions. On March 16th, Mr. Snyder moved that the Committee on Public Lands be instructed to prepare a bill for an Act granting to each soldier who served in the campaign against the Indians in the Northwestern Territory, between the years 1781 and 1796, a bounty of 320 acres of land to be located on any surveyed land belonging to the general government not disposed of. Mr. Snyder also moved to instruct the Committee on Commerce to prepare a bill providing for repeal of the law authorizing the payment of debentures to vessels engaged in the fishing trade.

He then presented the petition of Robert Clark, of Randolph county, in the State of Illinois, praying Congress to authorize him to locate land in Illinois or Missouri in lieu of Warrant No. 2483 issued the 13th of February, 1815, from the War Department, and lost in transmission by mail. Referred to the Committee on Public Lands.

March 22d, Mr. Snyder, from the Committee on Roads and Canals, reported a bill providing for the survey and construction of the National Road from Vandalia in the State of Illinois, to Jefferson City, in the State of Missouri, which was read twice, and committed to the Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed. March 24th Mr. Snyder presented the petitions of Isaac Miller and Philip Canter, of Union county, in Illinois, praying Congress to permit them to relocate two tracts of land entered by mistake. "March 30th, the House went into Committee of the whole, Mr. Snyder in the Chair, to consider the bill to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to correct a mistake in the payment of a sum of money awarded to certain parties. After consideration of said bill, the Committee rose, and Mr. Snyder reported that the Committee of the Whole recommended passage of the bill; whereupon it was read a third time and passed." Mr. Snyder moved that the Committee on Naval Affairs be instructed to provide by law for the appointment of midshipmen in the Navy so that an equal number may be chosen from each Congressional district in the United States.

May 21st, Mr. Snyder presented a memorial from William C. Greenup, President of the Board of Managers organized for the purpose of draining the lakes and ponds of the American Bottom, in the State of Illinois,

praying Congress to grant the unsold lands in said American Bottom to aid the Board in said improvements. Referred to Committee on Public Lands. Mr. Snyder also presented a memorial from the citizens of Greenville, in Bond county, Illinois, praying Congress to cause the National Road, from Vandalia to the Mississippi River, to be located through said town. Referred to the Committee on Roads and Canals. On May 28th, Mr. Snyder offered the following resolution, which was considered, but not adopted:

"*Resolved*, That the Committee on Military Affairs be instructed to enquire into the expediency of abolishing the Military Academy at West Point." The animus of Mr. Snyder's resolution, he explained, was to escape the *abuse* of the appointing power in selection of cadets, then vested in the President and Secretary of War. It was charged, he said, that those appointments were governed by political interests and personal favoritism, with the result that the Academy was filled with sons of eastern capitalists, wealthy and influential southerners, and army officers of high rank, to the exclusion of western boys, poor, but of equal, if not of superior, merit. It is passing strange that Mr. Snyder did not include the appointment of cadets to the Military Academy in his proposition, of March 30th, to change the mode of selecting cadets to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, by alloting them equally to the Congressional Districts, as was a few years later adopted.

He wrote to Mr. Koerner on March 28th:

"Enclosed I send you a short notice of my intention to decline being a candidate for re-election. My health continues bad. I fear it will never be better. The slender hope I have of prolonging my life a short time for my family depends, I have no doubt, upon my withdrawal from public life. I wish you, Mr. Shields

and Pensoneau, to consult about the matter, and have enclosed paper published; probably the sooner you do it the better. I leave that with you. The sooner my determination is known the better, if you have arranged who you will support, and who you can elect. I fear much that in May's district an opposition man will be elected. I suppose that Reynolds will beat Hogan and Breese; or can you start a man who you would prefer who can be elected? If so, you can hold this announcement of mine until you get things ripe for action. I leave the whole matter with you, premising that I have no disposition or wish, under all circumstances, to run."

The following is taken from the House journal of June 7th:

"The Preemption bill being considered, Mr. Snyder said he hoped the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Goode) would not prevail. It proposed to grant certain rights to the State of Ohio, to the exclusion of individuals. "The present bill is one," said he, "extending to settlers on public lands the right of preemption to one quarter section of land. Its principles are general and equitable; its object is to protect the labor of the poor man from the rapacity of the wealthy speculator. The amendment of the gentleman, if adopted, will embarrass the progress and passage of the bill. I deny that it is consonant with the principles of the measure under consideration. This bill extends to settlers on public lands protection and a guarantee for their labor; and, on the other hand, the proposition of the gentleman from Ohio would engross the most valuable lands exclusively for the State of Ohio, and deny to the settlers the right of preemption on that part of the domain. I, for one, cannot consent that this bill shall be so encumbered. If the amendment offered by the gentleman from Ohio has merit I will vote for it as a separate and distinct measure. There has been abundant time during all this long session to propose that measure; there is yet time. I hope the friends of a pre-emption act will join me in voting down this amendment, in order that this important bill, for the relief of a most meritorious class of citizens, will stand on its own merits, and speedily meet the favorable action of this House. When the provisions of this bill come up for dis-

cussion, I shall avail myself of the occasion to present my views more fully on the subject."

On June 11th, Mr. Snyder moved that the Committee on Post Office and Postroads be instructed to report a bill to establish a mail route from Jonesborough, in Union county, *via* Whittaker's Landing, the mouth of Big Muddy and Breeseville, to Liberty; and also a mail-route from Clarksville, in Pike county, to Phillips' Ferry on the Illinois river, in Illinois. June 14th, the Pre-emption bill was discussed in Committee of the Whole, when Mr. Snyder offered the following proviso: "*Provided*, however, that no person who has settled, occupied or cultivated any portion of such quarter section, under a previous settler, and by his permission, shall be allowed to avail himself of any such division of a quarter section." This, put to the House, was not acceded to. Mr. Lincoln, of Massachuetts, then moved to amend by "inserting in the 26th line, after the words 'United States,' and upon the third proviso in said bill, the following words, 'nor shall the benefit of this Act extend to any person who has before availed himself of a pre-emption right to entry of the public lands, and acquired a title thereto by reason of such entry." "Mr. Snyder opposed this motion, and in a speech of an hour's duration went into a variety of details showing how injuriously it would operate upon a meritorious class of citizens." June 15th, "Mr. Snyder asked and obtained leave to make a statement in relation to an article which appeared in the *Madisonian* of Thursday last. Mr. S. then read the following extract from the paper:

"At the extra session there was not to be found in the whole House any more decided opponents of the scheme (sub-treasury) than every representative from the State of Illinois. Have the opinions of the people of that State changed since in favor of the

scheme? On the contrary, every manifestation of their opinion shows most clearly that an overwhelming majority of the people of that State are decidedly opposed, and that any one of her representatives who gives his support to it does so in direct opposition to their will. Then why this change on the part of the representative in relation to this all-absorbing and paramountly interesting question? We hope we may have been mistaken. We hope it will be proven that there has not been a change as represented. If, however, it shall prove otherwise, we shall not hesitate to believe that executive favors have been solicited and executive smiles returned, and perhaps a dinner.* 'It is by such arts,' said Mr. McDuffie, 'the cunning and artful seek to seduce those they wish to make use of, and win over to their purposes.' But, thank God, while the representatives may be corrupted, the people are honest, and are above corruption. We still hope we are deceived as to this one member of the Illinois delegation. We hope he will, by his acts, preserve consistency and give no cause to any one to indulge in unpleasant reflections. Nothing whatever can be made more disagreeable to us than to be obliged to change our opinion of those of whose honesty and moral courage we have previously entertained the most exalted opinion."

Mr. Snyder said that he, as well as every other public man, must expect his share of abuse from licentious papers, and in general it was unworthy of regard. But in the present instance the editor was an officer of this House, and thus had more influence with the community in that character. On this ground alone would he notice the false and base insinuation contained in the extract which he read. There was no doubt that he (Mr. S.) was alluded to, as he was the only one of the members from Illinois who had expressed any opinion upon the sub-treasury bill. He considered it his duty to state, in his place, that the charge was without foundation. He did so that the antidote might go forth with the poison.

* Mr. Snyder had, by special invitation, dined with Mr. Van Buren, at the White House, on two occasions, a short time before.

"Mr. S. then made some allusions to Mr. Allen, and the circumstances of his election as Public Printer, remarking that he was voted for by some warm friends of the administration, with the understanding that he was to support the administration."

The foregoing extracts from the House Journals of the extra and first regular sessions of the twenty-fifth Congress are presented, not for their importance, but simply as evidence of Mr. Snyder's alertness and industry in the discharge of his public duties; and also, as an illustration of the ordinary work of a representative on the floor of the House. They indicate, in some degree, his possible efficiency and usefulness in serving his constituents had he enjoyed sound health, and, considering his lamentable physical condition, entitle him to some credit.

The following communications from Mr. Snyder to Mr. Koerner will further show his diligence, and intelligent grasp of national legislation and political movements in his own state:

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, June 16, 1838.

"I have received the result of the Vandalia convention, and am very well pleased with the nomination,* and hope it will succeed. I assure you I am better satisfied than if I had been nominated. Now, the utmost exertion should be used to ensure success. I know both of the men. They are sound Democrats and though not highly talented are sensible, firm and honest men.

"We have just passed a most liberal preemption bill, granting to all settlers who have been four months on public lands, whether in market or not before the passage of the bill, two years to enter their land. This will act as a credit of two years to the actual settler and will enable very many deserving poor men to secure homes for their families. We have not yet reached the graduation bill, and I fear it will not be taken up for want of

* Nomination by the Democrats of Thomas Carlin for Governor and Stinson H. Anderson for Lieutenant Governor.

time. If it does not pass at this session it will pass at the next. The sub-treasury bill will be taken up Monday. The vote will be close, and I do not think it will pass. The opposition are determined to defeat it, and will prevent, if possible, it being taken up or at all discussed.

"I assure you I am very desirous of returning home. My long absence, together with my desire to see my family and friends, causes the time to hang heavily on my hands, notwithstanding the many exciting topics in the House every day. My health has improved much. I was able to speak nearly an hour day before yesterday on the subject of the preemption bill without any considerable inconvenience to myself. Should the sub-treasury bill be called up I will say something to place all my course in regard to that measure in its proper light."

Mr. Snyder possessed the peculiar faculty of attracting and retaining friendships. During his service in Congress President Van Buren, also the Speaker, Hon. Jas. K. Polk, paid him marked attention. Between Hon. Felix Grundy and himself a warm personal friendship existed until ended by death. He became intimately acquainted with Dr. Linn and Col. Thos. H. Benton, the Missouri Senators; with Hon. Silas Wright, John C. Calhoun, Col. Richard M. Johnson, Wm. R. King, Henry A. Wise, John Quincy Adams, and many others, from whom he received evidences of sincere regard, and whose friendship he cherished to his last hours.

On adjournment of Congress, in July, 1838, Mr. Snyder, in pitiable state of health, returned to his home without delay. During his absence of nearly a year great changes had taken place in Illinois in financial affairs, and in public opinion relative to the extensive internal improvements the State had undertaken. The country had not recovered from the panic of 1837. General suspension of the banks in the spring of that year, followed by depreciation of their currency, had caused

a depressing revulsion in business. There was no cessation of activity on the public works; hundreds of laborers were employed in digging the canal, and in throwing up embankments and cutting through hills on the several railroad routes; but paper money—the only kind of money in circulation—had lost much of its purchasing value; the banks had none to loan, and the people but little with which to meet their obligations falling due.

General uneasiness began to be felt regarding the tremendous State debt rapidly accumulating, the enormous annual interest to be paid, and the remote prospect of paying returns from the promised railroads. The evident want of skill and knowledge of those in charge of the works, their many mistakes, and their prodigal waste of money, every day increased the numbers clamoring for the ruinous, visionary folly to be stopped. Gloom and despondency replaced the hopeful expectations of the year before.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Snyder willing to make the race for Governor in place of Col. Stephenson, withdrawn—Thomas Carlin nominated and elected—Internal Improvements continued—Mr. Snyder's summer vacation.

Before leaving his home for Washington, in August, 1837, Mr. Snyder made preliminary arrangements for the erection of a large, fine house on the site of the old dilapidated combination of rooms and sheds he had occupied, with his family, as their residence, since the spring of 1833. In the condition of money matters then, and absence of transportation facilities, the building of a stylish two-story brick dwelling house was a serious and expensive undertaking. The lumber contracted for, to be used in its construction, in trees still standing in the woods, had yet to be cut down, then taken to the saw mill and sawed to required dimension, then kiln-dried, and the whole of it dressed and joined by hand. The contract for shingles required walnut trees to be felled and cut with a long cross-cut saw in blocks of regulation length, to be split with a frow, and each shingle reduced to proper thickness and shape with a drawing knife—at $10 per thousand. Contracts were made with different parties for burning lime, and furnishing sand; for quarrying stone for the cellar and foundation walls, and for making bricks—at $10 per thousand. Contracts were made with laborers for removing the old house, and excavating the cellar, and foundation trenches; with stone and brick masons to erect the walls; with plasterers; with carpenters, who dressed, tongue-and-grooved the ash and oak floors, and framed and fitted, all by hand, the window and door frames, doors, sash and shut-

iers, and all the other wood work; and finally, with painters, glaziers and paper hangers.

When Mr. Snyder arrived in Belleville, near the close of July, 1838, he was pleased to see the encouraging progress made on his new building. The old house, save a one-story room Mr. Dennis had recently added before selling the place, was torn away and the cellar and foundation walls, of stone masonry, had upon them the brick walls as high as the second floor.

The first political convention for nominating party candidates for State offices in Illinois, was held by Democratic delegates at Vandalia, on the 4th of December, 1837, resulting in the nomination of Col. James W. Stephenson for Governor, and John L. Hacker for Lieutenant Governor. About the same time Stephen A. Douglas was nominated for Congress in the Springfield district.

Col. Stephenson's location, Galena, was an important factor in securing his nomination; as all previous Governors had been taken from the southern part of the State—Duncan having but recently moved up to Jacksonville before his election—and the Whigs having, without convention, but by common consent, united upon Hon. Cyrus Edwards, of Edwardsville, as their candidate, the Democratic voters of the northern part of the State demanded the candidate from that region as a matter of justice, and reward for their party loyalty.

The candidate for office is usually—and justly—regarded a legitimate subject for critical investigation. His history and character, as public servant and private citizen, are open to the closest scrutiny, and no defect in his personal or political record can long remain concealed. Col. Stephenson had not long been a candidate

for Governor when serious charges were preferred of irregularities in his accounts when receiver of the land office. Gov. Ford says: "A candidate should never deny any charge made against him for, if he does, his adversaries will prove all they have said, and much more." To avoid the disadvantage of having the party placed upon the defensive in the campaign, Col. Stephenson's friends induced him to withdraw. Mr. Hacker, although under no charges, also withdrew, to relieve the party from all embarrassments.

The same delegates assembled again, at Vandalia, on June 16, 1838, at the call of Col. Wm. L. D. Ewing, Chairman, when Thomas Carlin, of Adams county, and Sidney Breese, of Clinton, were proposed for nomination. Mr. Carlin was nominated for Governor, and Stinson H. Anderson, of Jefferson county, for Lieutenant Governor. Mr. Koerner, who was a delegate in that convention, says, in his unpublished memoirs:

"At any rate, I was constantly called on for help by aspiring candidates, and consequently placed very often in a difficult position. When, for instance, I was a delegate to the State convention at Vandalia in 1838, Mr. Snyder, whose Congressional term was soon to expire, feeling just then considerably better, wished to be a candidate for Governor.* Judge Breese, who was then on the bench and very friendly to me, also desired my support; and so did Gov. Reynolds. Of course I could not hesitate. Mr. Snyder was as competent as any of his rivals; his character was open and sincere, and his friendship to me really knew no bounds. But neither of these gentlemen had any chance in the convention.

* Here Gov. Koerner's memory is again defective. Mr. Snyder stated positively that he did not wish to be a candidate, and would only consent to be presented to the convention for nomination if he was the unanimous choice of his party; for he believed the Democrat nominated would be defeated at the election; but consented to lead the forlorn hope if the party insisted upon it. And because of the precarious condition of his health he preferred not to be mentioned in that connection. Nor did Gov. Reynolds desire Gov. Koerner's support in that convention; for his election to Congress was certain, and he would not then have exchanged that position for the Governorship.

All the Governors of the State thus far had been taken from the south of the State naturally enough since the great bulk of the population had lived south. But for the last four or five years a very large population had been pouring into the northern part of our State, from New England, New York, and even Ohio. They were mostly intelligent, energetic and calculating people, and in politics better schooled, as far as organization was concerned, than we in the south. Their delegates, combining with the delegates from the middle part, insisted upon, and nominated a northern man. Perhaps we could have still nominated Mr. Snyder, he being indeed popular everywhere, but his rivals reported his health as so hopelessly bad that it seemed to many even of his friends imprudent to nominate him. And yet was it not a most singular incident that Col. Stephenson, of Galena, the man who had been nominated before, died within four or five months of consumption, while Mr. Snyder did not succumb to that terrible disease until four years later."

Mr. Carlin, when nominated for Governor, was regarded as a "northern" man, geographically, having settled originally in Greene county, then an extreme northern county, and for the last four years was a resident of Quincy, where he served as receiver of the land office.

Cyrus Edwards, brother of the former Governor, Ninian Edwards, was a very able and popular man, a lawyer of high reputation, well known all over the State, having served in the Black Hawk war, and in both branches of the legislature. His friends felt confident of his election, as the unpopular course of the Van Buren administration had caused serious dissensions in the Democratic party, and many of its conservative members had recently recruited the Whig ranks. However, at the State election, on the 6th day of August, 1838, Carlin was elected Governor, defeating Mr. Edwards by the small majority of 996, "the nearest the Whigs ever came to carrying the State." Gov. Reynolds was elected to Congress in the first district by a large

majority. In the second district Zadok Casey was re-elected, and in the third district Major John T. Stuart, the Whig candidate, defeated Stephen A. Douglas by only 14 majority.

Mr. Snyder's confidence in his re-election, had he been a candidate with health unimpaired at that election, was probably well justified. For Hogan secured the entire Whig vote of the district, then considerably larger than that cast for Gatewood two years before, the late accessions to that party having been drawn almost altogether from the Reynolds faction of the Democracy.

John Hogan was a native of Ireland and had been a Methodist preacher. He was a moral, intelligent, well educated man and eloquent speaker, possessing, with fondness for politics, in an eminent degree the urbanity and friendly disposition so essential to popularity. He was a Whig member of the lower house of the legislature in 1836, and one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the internal improvement scheme. After his defeat by Reynolds, following the course of Gatewood, he left the Whig party, joined the Democracy, and moving from Alton to St. Louis was there elected to Congress by the Democrats.

Though the Whigs failed to elect their Governor, they secured a majority in both branches of the legislature, the Senate having 21 Whigs, 16 Democrats and 3 Independents; and the House, 46 Whigs, 40 Democrats and 5 Independents.

Mr. Snyder's summer vacation was by no means a period of rest and inactivity. A vast amount of private and professional business had accumulated during his long absence that required his personal attention and kept him constantly employed until time for his return

to Washington. He visited Tamarawa on two or three occasions, and also Cahokia, and attended the fall term of circuit court in some of the adjoining counties where he addressed his constituents, giving them an account of what he tried to do for them, and of the drift of public opinion and legislation in Congress. Clients, politicians and old personal friends came to his office, or temporary residence, daily to consult him on every variety of subjects; or for mere friendly interviews. He was much interested in the building of his new dwelling, and found pleasure, when time permitted, in examining every part of it, and instructing the mechanics regarding all details of the work. He was very happy in his domestic relations, and the pride and interest of his existence centered in his home, his wife and three sons.

He had the gratification of being at home on the election day, in August, and of voting for his friends on the ticket, few of whom, however, were elected. Of the three representatives in the lower house of the legislature St. Clair county was then entitled to, the Democrats elected but one, Dr. W. W. Roman, of Lebanon; the two successful Whigs were Col. Vital Jarrott of Cahokia, and Col. John Thomas of Shiloah Valley. The hold-over Senator, John Murray, was a Whig, as also was the district Senator elected for St. Clair, Monroe and Madison counties, Gen'l Jas. B. Moore.

On Mr. Snyder's return from Washington in July he seriously contemplated resigning and remaining at home. But the fear that his vacancy might be supplied by the election of a Whig, together with some recuperation of strength, decided him to adopt the advice and wishes of his partisan friends not to vacate his position.

With reluctance, and only in obedience to a stern sense

of duty, he took his departure from Belleville in October and returned to Washington City, to resume his seat in Congress. He traveled by stage over the National road through Indiana, Ohio, Brownsville, Pa., and Cumberland, Md., again stopping a few days with his early friends and relatives at Connellsville.

Governor Duncan's term of office expired on the 3d of December, 1838. When he assumed the office, four years before, the total indebtedness of the State, including the Wiggins loan, amounted to $217,276. By the expiration of his term it had increased to $6,688,784; for which, however, he was in no manner responsible. By the 24th of December, 1838, there had been expended upon the public improvements in Illinois, $1,142,027. The Fund Commissioners had paid for State stock in the Bank of Illinois, $3,000,000; for railroad iron and expenses, $69,422; for interest on State bonds, $292,250, and to counties not traversed by either canal or railroads, $144,709.

When the eleventh general assembly met at Vandalia, in December, the Whig Senate was presided over by a Democrat, Stinson H. Anderson, and Gov. Carlin shared the fate of his predecessors, Coles, Edwards, Reynolds and Duncan, in having the dominant party in the legislature opposed to him. In organizing the House, Abraham Lincoln—whose greatness had not yet developed—was the Whig candidate for Speaker, and though his party had a majority of one over the Democrats and Independents combined, he was defeated by William L. D. Ewing, a Democrat, the vote standing, for Ewing, 43, and for Lincoln, 38.

Gov. Carlin was born, of Irish parents, near Frankfort, Kentucky, on July 18th, 1789. He attended country schools but long enough to learn to read, write and

cipher. In 1802 his parents migrated to Missouri Territory, and there his father died in 1810. He then came to Illinois, and during the Indian troubles incident to the war of 1812 served as a Ranger, along with Gov. Reynolds. When discharged from the service, in 1814, he was united in marriage to Miss Rebecca Huitt, and settled on the Mississippi bottom opposite the mouth of the Missouri river. In 1820 he moved into Greene county, and the next year founded there the town of Carrollton, to which he made liberal donations of land for public buildings. In 1822 he was converted and baptised into the Baptist church under the ministration of Rev. John M. Peck. He was elected sheriff of Greene county and subsequently State Senator for two terms. He was Captain of a volunteer company in Major James D. Henry's Odd Battalion of Spies, in the Black Hawk war, enlisted April 20th, and discharged May 27th, 1832. In 1834 he was appointed by President Jackson receiver of the land office at Quincy, and he there resided until after expiration of his term of Governor, when he retired to his farm in Greene county, where he died on the 14th of February, 1852. After retiring from the Governorship his only reappearance in public life was in 1849, when he was elected to the lower house of the legislature to fill the unexpired term of Col. J. D. Fry, who had resigned. In stature Gov. Carlin was above medium height, strong and muscular, with fair complexion, high forehead, blue eyes, sandy hair, long nose and thin face and lips. He was not brilliant, but well stocked with strong, practical sense and determination of purpose. Above all, he was conscientiously honest and incorruptible.

In his last message to the legislature, when retiring from the executive chair, Gov. Duncan deprecated the in-

ternal improvement craze in the most emphatic terms, and implored the general assembly to call a halt, and try to repair, as far as possible, the wretched mistakes of the last legislature.

Thoughtful, conservative party friends of Gov. Carlin fondly hoped, and expected, he would make the same wise recommendation; but to their astonishment and disgust he said, in his inaugural message,* "The signal success which has attended our sister states in their extensive systems of internal improvements can leave no doubt of the wise policy and utility of such works," and enlarged upon their usefulness in developing "the natural and hidden resources of the country;" and, further, extolled the plan adopted for construction of the works by the State as, in every way, wiser and better than that of entrusting them to joint stock companies, or private corporations. "Under the present plan of proceeding," he said, "near two millions of dollars have been expended, and whatever diversity of opinion may now exist as to the expediency of the system as originally projected, all must admit that the character and credit of the State forbid its abandonment."

In that view the legislature coincided. In both houses were many old members who had voted in the last legislature to adopt the grand scheme, and were yet unshaken in the faith of its ultimate success. No part of the system was repealed, but more was added to it. Bills were passed appropriating for improving navigation of Rock River, $50,000; for the Little Wabash, $150,000; for the Big Muddy $20,000; and for the Embarras, $20,000. Also $10,000 to make a road from Cahokia Creek to Kaskaskia, $100,000 to construct a railroad from Rushville

* Gov. Carlin's messages and other state papers were evidently not written altogether by himself.

to Erie on the Illinois river, and $20,000 to be expended on the western mail route. Bills were also passed for improvement of the Illinois river to Ottawa, and for a branch railroad from the proposed Alton and Shelbyville road to Carrollton. The appropriations made for the new improvements mentioned aggregated almost a million dollars.

An unsophisticated member from the Wabash region had the temerity to introduce a bill for "An Act to incorporate a company to build a railroad from Albion to Grayville," which was referred to the Committee on Internal Improvements. Mr. Smith, of Wabash county, chairman of that all-important committee, in reporting the bill back adversely, said: "In the judgment of the committee it is inexpedient for the legislature to authorize corporations, or individuals, to construct railroads or canals calculated to come in competition with similar works now in course of construction under the State system of internal improvements."

An Act was passed directing the Governor to negotiate a further loan of $1,000,000 for completion of the Illinois & Michigan canal. Much of the session was fritted away with discussions of national questions by aspiring members, but yet, several measures of importance were enacted. Among them was the Act for establishing the Deaf and Dumb Institution located in Jacksonville. A law was passed prohibiting the banks from issuing bills of less denomination than five dollars. Another law passed made it obligatory for the Governor to reside at the seat of government during his term of office. The Chicago Lyceum was incorporated, and an appropriation made for purchasing a library for the supreme court.

Mr. Lincoln, of Sangamon, introduced a bill providing for the purchase, by the State, of all the public lands within its limits, estimated at 20,000,000 acres, "at twenty-five cents per acre ($5,000,000), pledging the faith of the State to carry the proposal into effect if accepted by the general government." The bill failed to pass. The eleventh general assembly adjourned on the 4th of March, 1839, and was the last legislature to meet at Vandalia, that town ceasing to be the capital of Illinois on the 4th of July of that year.

On the 8th of December, 1838, Mr. Snyder wrote to his friend, Mr. Koerner, from Washington as follows:

"I was twenty-three days traveling and stood the trip remarkably well. Since coming here I have been confined, and am still confined, to my room with a most inveterate cold, which, as usual, has fastened on my lungs. I hope, however, to get out by Monday. Pensoneau left me Thursday morning and will be in Belleville about the 19th or 20th inst.

"How do you like the message? It takes very well here. I could have wished that he (Van Buren) had said nothing about his friendship for the banks. On the whole, it does him credit as a writer more than it elevates him as a statesman. It is too hard labored; seeking too much to conciliate; not strong, firm and decisive as were both his former messages. This my opinion to *you*, for to no other have I expressed my opinion, but approbation of it on general terms. The President is in good spirits; so is our party. We succeeded finely in the election of a Clerk.

"I learn Breese is really an applicant for the Secretaryship; so are Dougherty, Prickett and Ford. I have no idea that Field will persist. He will not be sustained even by his own party.

" * * * * I suppose if Breese is not successful for Secretary of State he will be a candidate for Commissioner of Internal Improvements next, and so on for every office in the gift of the legislature."

The cold, blustery, fitful winter of 1838-39 held Mr. Snyder practically a prisoner in his room in Washington,

with occasional brief respites, during its entire continuance. He suffered several recurrences of the terrible pulmonary hemorrhages he had experienced the previous winter; but as soon as they had spent their severity he rallied, and hopefully attempted to regain his post of duty. The weather was intensely cold part of the time, interspersed with damp, chilly winds sweeping up the Potomac valley that penetrated every pore of his enfeebled vitality with depressing effect. Occasionally, however, when the rigors of winter relaxed for a few days, with invigorating sunshine and cheerful moderation of temperature, the invalid called a carriage and was promptly in his seat at the capitol, and bravely maintained it while closely following the proceedings of the House, until forced by sheer exhaustion of strength to return to his room. In those intervals he was a very busy representative, and, considering his physical condition, transacted a surprising amount of business for his constituents.

The gloom of enforced confinement to his apartments in his worst stages was, to a degree, mitigated by frequent calls and visits of the two Senators and his two Illinois colleagues of the House, and other Congressmen whose friendship and sympathy he had gained. And all visitors to the capital from Illinois were with him a great part of the leisure time they could spare.

His physicians gave him all possible care and attention, but were utterly hopeless of any favorable change in the disease that was rioting in his vital organs. Having exhaused all their skill and knowledge in fruitlessly contending with it, they advised him to seek another and milder climate that might possibly benefit him and prolong his life. In stating this opinion, or decision, of his

medical advisers, in one of his letters to a friend, Mr. Snyder said: "You know, physicians in England, to escape having their patients dying on their hands, advise them to go to southern France or Italy. Mine seem to have adopted the same tactics, and now all unite on insisting that I must go south, and that I must make the trip by sea."

They were very desirous that he would leave Washington at once; but with the passing of February he improved somewhat, so much so as to be able to be present in the House several hours each day until near the close of the session, and consequently delayed starting on his ocean voyage until after adjournment of Congress. By that time his strength had increased perceptibly, and he went aboard the steamship at Baltimore—in company with Hon. John C. Calhoun, and several other southern Congressmen—feeling better, and in fine spirits.

On arriving at Charleston, South Carolina, he wrote, on the morning of March 10th, 1839, as follows:

"I arrived here on yesterday evening in rather improved health. We had a very pleasant passage from Baltimore to this city, and made the run in fine time. I was very much pleased with the ocean. But two days out of sight of land. The scene to me was novel and interesting. I will probably be here for several days before I can obtain passage for Havana—probably a week. The climate here is delightful; peach trees are in bloom, fields green, and everything wearing the aspect of summer, or rather, of spring, in Illinois.

"This is a beautiful city; the port filled with vessels, wharves lined with cotton bales and sailors, the streets filled with carriages, well dressed males and females and lots of ragged negroes.

"These southern people are very ready to sustain Maine; and they eulogize Mr. Van Buren for the manner in which he has treated that difficulty. On the whole, the administration is popular in this state with the people.

"I am very anxious to hear from home. The farther I wander

from Illinois the more impatient I get. It is probable I will be in New Orleans by the first of April. I have no idea of reaching there before. I will write you in a few days more fully should I be detained here, as I expect to be.

"By this time I presume the legislature of our State has adjourned. I am very anxious to hear who they have made Commissioner in place of Kinney, if Breese. In that case, who is our circuit judge? My impression is that our system of internal improvements cannot go on very rapidly. It is said on this side of the mountains that our State bonds are in bad odor in the London stock market, and much difficulty will be met to obtain further sales.

"Will you be pleased to give my respects to Mr. Shields. I wish he was here to enjoy the fine wine and irresistible smiles of the fine ladies, and generous people of the south. I have met here with unbounded hospitality and attention. I traveled here with Hon. John C. Calhoun, who has been very kind to me, introducing me to many of the wealthy and distinguished families of this southern metropolis."

CHAPTER XIII.

Hon. R. M. Young and Gov. Reynolds appointed special Commissioners to sell State bonds in Europe—Their failure—Extra Session of the legislature—Total collapse of the Internal Improvement scheme—State indebtedness—Incident on a Wiggins Ferry boat—Mr. Snyder a candidate for State Senator—Nominations of Harrison and Van Buren for President.

Gov. Carlin found the State's credit had been too severely strained in the eastern money markets of this country to enable him to float the new loan of $4,000,000 for the canal at par, and was persuaded to offer it to the money changers of Europe.

Gov. Reynolds having failed to become a railroad magnate after building the first railroad in Illinois, and life without an office being to him intolerable, again ran for Congress and was elected. As the Congress to which he was elected would not convene until the first Monday in December, 1839, sixteen months after his election, he concluded to visit Vandalia during the last session of the legislature to be held there, to see his old Ranger comrade, Carlin, inaugurated Governor; and also see, incidentally, if anything might turn up there to his advantage. He remained in Vandalia the greater part of the winter, and succeeded in turning something up. He had long desired to visit Europe, and that desire was shared by the stylish lady he had married two and a half years before.

Strong ties of fellow-feeling bound Carlin and Reynolds to each other. They were both of Irish parentage; both were early pioneers, thrown together when young in the rough campaigning of the ranging service; always afterwards in concert politically, and both had, by their innate force and genius, worked their way up

from poverty and obscurity to wealth and the highest position in the State. Carlin placed a high estimate upon the abilities of Reynolds, and regarded him as in the front ranks of Illinois statesmen. With such relations existing between them, Reynolds had little difficulty in persuading Gov. Carlin to seek a foreign market for his State loan, and to select him (Reynolds) as the Commissioner to negotiate it.

Of all public men in Illinois, Gov. Reynolds was perhaps the least qualified—the most destitute of financial tact and skill—for such a difficult and delicate mission. And, after securing his junketing trip at public expense, conscious of his incapacity to deal successfully with the sharpest financiers of the world, he asked Gov. Carlin to associate with him, in that work, Senator R. M. Young, to which the Governor acceded. Senator Young, a profound lawyer and jurist, as a diplomatist or financier, was very little, if any, the superior of Reynolds.

They proceeded to New York City, and there met Mr. Rawlings, one of the Illinois Fund Commissioners, and together they sold, and delivered, to Delafield, of New York, on April 23d, 1839, 300 State bonds of $1,000 each, at par, agreeing to pay at New York and Philadelphia, interest on the bonds, semi-annually, at the rate of six per cent, though the law specified only annual payments of interest. The payments by Delafield for the bonds he purchased were to be made in installments, the first $50,000, in fifteen days, to the New York Banking Company subject to sight drafts of the Illinois Board of Public Works, of forty different installments. The next payment of $50,000 to be made August 1st, 1839, in notes of New York City banks of denominations not to exceed $10; and in like manner the remainder in monthly pay-

ments of $50,000 commencing on the 1st of October. No security on the deferred payments was asked, or given, though the law specified that the bonds should be sold for cash.

They also sold to Thomas Dunlap 1,000 bonds of $1,000 each, bearing six per cent interest, at par, principal and interest payable in English funds, in London, for which was received within the next ten months, in England, notes of the United States Bank, depreciated ten per cent, and further discounted on exchange of funds; incurring, altogether, a loss of $200,000. The Illinois bonds thus disposed of in New York formed the basis for several "wild cat" banks in the State of New York, whose issue was paid to the Board of Public Works for the bonds; "Illinois meanwhile paying interest for the privilege of furnishing their bonded capital." Those wild cat banks all failed, and their notes received by Illinois were a total loss. Other bonds of the State were sold on credit contrary to law, and others were left on deposit for sale at various places.

Gov. Reynolds and wife, and Col. Oakley and Gen'l Rawlings, two of the Illinois Fund Commissioners, then crossed the ocean to London where they were joined by the other special commissioner, Senator Young. The special and Fund Commissioners—specifically required, by the law giving them authority to act, to be "experienced and skilled in finance"—on Oct. 30th, 1839, deposited with John Wright & Co., Brokers in London, 1,000 Illinois State bonds of $1,000 each, and empowered them to sell the same at a discount not greater than nine per cent. Upon those bonds Wright & Co. advanced $150,000; and subsequently sold about half of them, and then failed with the proceeds of the sales in their hands as

assets. The unsold bonds were in time returned to the State. After a long time the State of Illinois received a few shillings on the pound sterling for the bonds sold by the bankrupt brokers. This brilliant stroke of financiering by the four commissioners resulted in a clear loss to the State of over half a million of dollars.

To the credit of Gov. Reynolds and Judge Young, however, it must be stated that their responsibility for such ruinous blundering was only technical. They had wheedled Gov. Carlin into sending them to Europe on a pleasure trip at public expense, and while the two Fund Commissioners went along to sell the bonds, they, the special junketing commissioners, with their wives, visited points of interest in England, then crossed the channel and viewed the sights in Paris, Brussels, and other continental cities, and returned home at their leisure.

Mr. Snyder was entertained with courtly hospitality for several days, by Senator Calhoun at his city home in Charleston, and was pressed by his distinguished host to accompany him to Fort Hill, in Pickens county, his mountain home in the western part of the State, but declined and continued his voyage southward at the first opportunity. He visited Havana, in Cuba; but menaced there by yellow fever, and oppressed by excessive heat of the climate, he did not remain long, and proceeded to New Orleans. Resting there a few weeks he ascended the Mississippi by boat, and arrived at Belleville early in June with health somewhat improved. His dwelling house, commenced in 1837 and completed in the fall of 1839, was, then, the finest residence in the county. In Baltimore and Philadelphia he had purchased all necessary furniture, carpets, curtains, etc., of the latest and most fashionable styles, and a profusion of table ware,

including a full service of solid silver plate, made to his order, in the latter city, of Mexican dollars furnished by himself.

With a beautiful home and happy domestic surroundings, with ample wealth, and hosts of true, devoted friends, and popular in all classes of society, and with his well-appointed law office and library almost within the shadow of the court house, he was admirably situated for the enjoyment of life, and maintaining a leading position in his profession. But, alas! with all those advantages and blessings, health, the main essential for full fruition of his hopes and aspirations, was wanting. He was a confirmed invalid, sustained only by his indomitable will and ambition.

On his arrival at home he was at once besieged by friends and clients, as usual, and soon was immersed in business matters that sorely taxed his energies and physical powers. Mental exertion increased his bodily strength. He occasionally visited Tamarawa, and attended some of the courts in adjoining counties. He sought the fresh air and sunshine, and mingling with the people daily, felt better by the exercise. Late in the summer of 1839 Belleville was honored by a visit from Hon. Richard M. Johnson, Vice-President of the United States, who was then making a tour of the country with the view of ascertaining Democratic sentiment regarding his availability as the candidate of that party for the Presidency in 1840. Mr. Snyder, who had become well acquainted with him in Washington, took the lead in his reception. The citizens of St. Clair county, regardless of party differences, accorded the distinguished soldier and statesman a grand ovation. At his levee in the Neuhoff House, a large hotel but recently erected, the

people came in numbers to pay him their respects. The reception there was followed in the evening by a grand ball, brilliant with glaring lights, fine music, and the elite and beauty of the town and its surroundings.

That Gen'l Harrison would be the presidential candidate of the Whigs at the next election was a foregone conclusion. That fact rendered Col. "Dick" Johnson the logical candidate of the Democrats. Personally the two men occupied the same plane; both were natives of slave states and friendly to the institution of slavery. Both were lawyers of fair ability; they had both served in Congress with credit; and in point of natural talents, were about equal, Gen'l Harrison having the advantage of some higher education. They had won military fame in the same war, Gen'l Harrison attaining higher rank, and having also broader experience in administration of civil affairs. Col. Johnson was seriously wounded at the battle of the Thames; and was accorded the credit of having, in hand to hand combat, slain the renowned Indian chief, Tecumseh. As told in a popular ballad of that era:

"Hope nerved his arm for a desperate blow,
And Tecumseh fell prostrate before him."

The nomination of Col. Johnson for President by the Democratic party in 1840, would have effectually neutralized Gen'l Harrison's "gunpowder" popularity, nullified the "coonskin and hard cider" demonstrations of the Whigs based thereon, and ensured Democratic success at the election beyond all doubt. Of that the Whigs were well aware. In their desperation they invaded the sanctity of Col. Johnson's home and exposed the stigma upon his domestic life in having married a negro woman. That offense against social order proved fatal to his

Presidential aspirations and retired him to private life, from which he but once afterward emerged, when elected to the lower house of the Kentucky legislature in 1850; and he died, in Frankfort, before the expiration of his term.

In the autumn of 1839, Mr. Snyder, accompanied by his wife and youngest son, visited Kaskaskia, stopping for a day, on the route, at Waterloo, the county seat of Monroe county, where John D. Whiteside, the State Treasurer, ex-Senator James, Dr. William H. Bissell, and several other prominent citizens of that county called upon him, apparently much pleased to see him. At Kaskaskia he was royally entertained for four or five days by his many friends there, with every manifestation of sincere regard and respect. Among other attentions paid him was a grand, formal reception in his honor tendered him by Judge Nathaniel Pope at his spacious mansion, including, as then customary, a ball graced by the presence of the venerable Pierre Menard and wife, and all the society people of the old town and vicinity. Returning home, the first afternoon and night were passed at Prairie du Rocher. Next morning a visit was paid to the ruins of Fort Chartres, four miles westward; then Prairie du Pont and Cahokia were reached the same evening. In those old French hamlets where Mr. Snyder and wife commenced together the active struggle of life, and were so well known and highly esteemed, their reception was exuberantly cordial. Three days were passed there in pleasant intercourse with old friends and relatives, in feasting and social entertainments, and then they departed for their home.

In physical condition Mr. Snyder was very much better than in the spring, and that visit, and consultations with

prominent political friends may have been prompted by latent thoughts of again offering his services to the people as their representative in Congress in the early spring. But if so, the bleak winds of winter admonished him to abandon that ambition—and he did.

A few days after Mr. Snyder returned from Kaskaskia and Cahokia, his brother, Hiram Snyder, arrived in Belleville, having traveled all the way on horseback from his farm, near Connellsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania. It was a joyous meeting of the two brothers, and for six weeks time passed pleasantly with them, together at home, or in short excursions to points of interest in that part of Illinois, and across the Mississippi into Missouri. On the approach of winter they parted, never to meet again, when Hiram left for his home, by steamboat from St. Louis to Pittsburg and Brownsville, in Pennsylvania.

The miserable failure of the special, and fund, Commissioners in England, rendered the fact quite apparent that the State's credit was completely exhausted. The appalling amount of State indebtedness incurred, with no approach to commensurate results; the enormous annual interest maturing with no resources to meet it but inevitable taxation, dispelled the infatuation that had seized the supporters of the internal improvement scheme, and wrought a sudden revulsion of their views. Confronted with the full magnitude of their mistake, they became as clamorous for abandoning the hopeless enterprises as they were at first for beginning them. The opinions of Gov. Carlin expressed in his inaugural message but a short time before were also radically changed, and he then shared with the people their alarm at the dismal prospect before them. With a State debt of nearly $14,000,000 resting upon a population of less

than half a million; with State credit so strained that its bonds had depreciated considerably below par, and annual revenues of the State amounting to only $200,000, the Governor saw, with the people, that to persist in the course then pursued the indebtedness of the State would speedily reach the incredible total of $21,746,444, bearing annual interest aggregating $1,310,776, and concluded it was time to stop the wild rush to certain ruin. Accordingly, he issued a proclamation to the legislature to meet in extra session, at Springfield, on the 9th day of December, 1839, to devise means for extricating the State from its perilous situation.

The new State house was not yet completed, and two church buildings were secured for use of the general assembly; the House meeting in the newly erected Second Presbyterian church, and the Senate in that of the Methodists, while the supreme court occupied the Protestant Episcopal building. In his message to the legislature Gov. Carlin reviewed past internal improvement legislation that provided for constructing nearly 1,300 miles of railroads, and improvement of several rivers; the burdensome debt contracted to carry out that system of public works; the great sum to be raised annually to pay interest on that debt; the meagre amount of State revenues to meet that demand, and the little so far accomplished to show for the vast sums already expended. To continue the work, he thought, would involve the State in ruin and dishonor, and he urged the law makers to enact such measures as, in their wisdom, might save the State from bankruptcy and degradation.

That manly appeal was addressed to a legislature composed mainly of men who had originated the system of internal improvements and the debt to construct it; and

who had, only a year before, voted to continue the work at an additional expenditure of nearly a million of dollars. But they then came together fresh from their constituents, and knew the trend of public sentiment upon that question. They were no longer for expansion and inflation; but decidedly for "retrenchment and reform in public expenditures." Repentant and humiliated, they earnestly set about enacting reforms that virtually abrogated the entire system. By provisions of two bills passed in February, 1840, the Board of Fund Commissioners, and Board of Public Works were abolished, and in their stead, one Commissioner was retained to perform the same duties as were before required of the two Boards, excepting that he was prohibited from selling State bonds, or borrowing money for the State. He was required to take charge of the railroad iron purchased in England and pay the duties on it; to receive back all unsold bonds and cancel and burn them; to audit and settle accounts of the two late Boards, and bring suits, in the Sangamon county Circuit court, against each of the members found in arrears.*

They then created a new Board of Public Works composed of three, instead of seven, members, whose duty it was to adjust and settle all liabilities contracted for the internal improvement system; to discharge all agents and engineers whose services were not indispensable, and to secure and operate such roads, or parts of roads, then completed. Work on all public improvements, excepting the canal, was ordered to be immediately suspended, excepting also on that part of the Northern Cross road from Meredosia to Springfield, 51 miles in

* Ex-Lieut. Governor William Kinney, President of the Board of Public Works, was a severe sufferer by the latter provision of that reform law. Suits were instituted against him for arrears of public funds confidingly entrusted to irresponsible friends, followed by years of litigation that finally swept away much of his valuable estate.

length, reported to be almost finished. That section of the Great Northern Cross railroad was subsequently completed at the additional cost of $100,000, obtained from the sales of canal bonds, and was turned over to the State by the contractors on the 13th of May, 1842. The first eight miles of its track was laid in 1838, and on it was placed, on the 8th of November, 1838, the first locomotive ever seen in Illinois, or, indeed, west of the Alleghany mountains.* The road completed to Springfield transported freight only, and its revenues were not sufficient to keep it in repair. Its one locomotive, weighing about a ton, having soon jumped the track and buried itself in the mud, was abandoned and mules were substituted as the motive power. After further fruitless attempts to make the road self-sustaining it was abandoned, and, by an act of the legislature passed in 1847, it was sold at public auction and bought by Nicholas H. Ridgely, of Springfield, for the sum of $21,000.

The extra, or special, session of the legislature adjourned on the 3d of February, 1840, having wrought complete collapse of the grand scheme of public works authorized three years before, leaving the State with an incubus of interest-bearing indebtedness amounting to $14,615,765. The assets of the State were 42,000 acres of land purchased by sale of its bonds; 230,467 acres of land donated by the general government to aid construction of the canal, including 3,491 lots in Chicago, Ottawa and other towns along the canal, and 210,000 acres of land, obtained the next year, by a general distribution of public lands authorized by Congress. Besides that real estate the State had a lot of railroad strap iron purchased in Europe, the Illinois and Michigan canal more

* Only twelve years before (1826) the first railroad in the United States was constructed, connecting Albany and Schenectady, in the State of New York.

than half completed, and several unfinished sections of roadbed practically of no value. The banks had suspended and were unable to redeem their notes. The people were unwilling and really not financially able to pay higher taxes, and were largely indebted to local merchants, and they to the banks and eastern dealers. Great shrinkage in values of almost every description of property followed with little or no demand for it at any price. Many of the new towns that sprung up like April mushrooms were deserted, sold for taxes and lapsed into commons or farms. Fictitious prosperity vanished like the morning mist and was replaced by an era of pinching hard times.

The progress of the canal was measureably unaffected by the general wreck as it was independent of State credit, at least until the bounty of Congress was exhausted. Because it was favored by the general government and was the only public work in the State destined to be soon completed; and also because its location and prospective benefits were sectional, it became an object of envy and jealousy on the part of other portions of the State, particularly some of the southern counties.

In consequence of distressing reactions in property values and in all branches of business, Mr. Snyder suffered, in common with others, some financial reverses. His losses, however, were not so serious as to affect his domestic establishment, or compel him to curtail his ordinary style of living. The winter of 1839-40 was mild and not severely unpleasant. In full suits of finely dressed buckskin, or chamois, underwear, and careful avoidance of exposure to sudden changes of temperature, he escaped pulmonary hemorrhages and emerged from his winter quarters in the spring fully as well as in the preceding fall, and feeling greatly encouraged. He re-

sumed his business pursuits with his old time zest and energy. The usual hospitality of his home was unchanged, and politicians, German land buyers, clients and friends were his almost daily visitors. In pleasant weather with dry roads, the family carriage was in frequent requisition for exercise, or excursions to certain real estate interests in different parts of the county. He often visited St. Louis accompanied by his wife and one, or all three, of his boys. Leaving Belleville early in the morning the fourteen miles to Illinoistown (now East St. Louis) were traveled by 8 o'clock, and the horses and carriage left at the livery stable there. Then crossing the Mississippi by the Wiggins ferry the day was passed with interest in the city, in shopping, sightseeing or calling upon friends and relatives, until late in the afternoon, when the return home was made by twilight. Occasionally the night was passed in the city to see some attractive play at the old Ludlow & Smith theater, or to attend a social entertainment to which they were previously invited.

The Wiggins ferry at that time employed two powerful steam ferry boats constantly crossing the river, and passing each other in midstream below the end of Bloody Island from early dawn until after nightfall. One of the boats was for many years in charge of Capt. John Trendley, a native of Germany, of kind, friendly disposition and jovial good humor, and very popular with the traveling public generally. The other boat was usually conducted by Mr. Sam Wiggins, one of the original proprietors of the ferry and perhaps the largest stockholder in the company then controlling it. He was an exacting, stern man of few words and close business habits, who guarded well the interests of the monopoly he repre-

sented. His duty was collecting ferriage tolls, which he did by passing over the main deck crowded with conveyances of all kinds and often with droves of cattle and other live stock, then among the passengers in the cabin upstairs, and extending to each person—footmen, teamster, emigrant and drover—his hand with thumb and forefinger rubbing together, a motion that all understood, though no word was spoken, to mean a demand for the transit fare. That movement of the fingers became such a fixed habit with Mr. Wiggins that he continued it automatically, after his retirement from the ferry, when, a feeble partlytic, shuffling along the streets of the city.

One bright, sunny spring morning, Mr. Snyder and family, with a number of others, were on Mr. Wiggins' boat crossing the river to St. Louis, and, as usual in pleasant weather, he was standing with several friends and acquaintances, on the cabin deck that overlooked the main deck of the boat and the river, enjoying the view of the city front and many other attractive objects on either shore to be seen from that elevated position. The boat had left the wharf on the Illinois side on its voyage, then of a mile or more, to the St. Louis landing. Mr. Wiggins was busy below among the numerous wagons and teams collecting ferriage, when he came to one of the dilapidated, poverty-stricken outfits frequently seen in those times on the emigrant roads of Illinois. It was a rickety cart drawn by a lean, broken-down horse, with old, worn-out harness patched up with strings and ropes. The bows overarching the cart bed were covered with a ragged old quilt, and in the cart with a few cooking utensils upon a pile of travel-stained, dirty bedding, were three small half-naked children, one of whom then

had a raging fever. Near the old horse were standing two older children and their parents; all sallow, emaciated, barefooted and but half clad. The woman's faded calico dress and sunbonnet constituted all her visible apparel, but she had on her arm, suspended by the string attaching them together, a pair of new shoes that some benevolent person in Illinoistown had just given to her.

When Mr. Wiggins approached that forlorn group and intimated by his mute but eloquent sign language that ferriage must be paid the agueish-looking head of the family plaintively stated that he "hadn't a cent in the world;" that they had all been sick for months in the Wabash bottom, where they had tried to live, and were now attempting to get to relatives in the Ozark country in search of health and subsistence. That, however, did not satisfy Mr. Wiggins. He had heard such stories, he said, many times before, and declared he could not maintain a ferry for improvident people traveling to and fro who paid nothing. He then took the woman's new shoes, telling her he would keep them until their ferriage was paid, and hanging them over his arm passed on to collect fare from others.

The assemblage overhead on the cabin deck saw and overheard what transpired below, and Mr. Snyder, expressing in very plain and forceful language his opinion of Mr. Wiggins' heartless act, took off his hat and dropping into it a silver dollar, passed it around among those in and about the cabin—to neary all of whom he was well known—briefly explaining what had occurred on the main deck to those who had not witnessed it, and few, if any, declined to add their contributions. Going below he made his way to Mr. Wiggins, paid him the amount due from the poor wayfarers, and handing the woman her shoes, emptied the contents of his hat, amounting to

several dollars, into her sunbonnet which she held out to receive it.

When satisfied that the wretched travelers were really destitute, and not imposters, Mr. Wiggins would, doubtless, on reaching the St. Louis landing, have restored the woman's property. In justice to him it must be stated that the ferry had no gate system at their wharves for collecting ferriage in advance, and that, almost daily, shiftless, worthless, and often, dishonest people moving from place to place in quest of an imaginary paradise, or fleeing from justice by passing from one state to another, were patrons of the ferry, and once on the boats and under way could not be ejected for non-payment. They imposed upon the ferry managers beyond endurance, always offering pitiful pleas of misfortune, sickness and poverty, and became such a nuisance that stringent measures had to be adopted to suppress them.

The Whigs were slow in adopting the convention system. In Illinois they held their first State convention at Springfield, on the 7th day of October, 1839, to select delegates to represent the State in their national convention that met in Harrisburg, Pa., on the 4th of the following December. There Gen'l William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, was nominated for President, and John Tyler, of Virginia, for Vice President. The national Whig platform of principles there announced was, simply, opposition to the Democratic party.

By, or before, adjournment of the special session of the legislature on Feb. 3d, 1840, the political campaign, destined to be the most fiercely contested of any in the previous history of the country, was fairly commenced in Illinois. The Whigs, united and well organized, felt confident of success, and aggressively charged the

administrations in power, both State and national, with responsibility for all the disasters and calamities experienced by the nation and states, including droughts and overflows, crop failures, bank suspensions and hard times; but were discreetly silent on internal improvement failures.

Undisputably, times were hard, and as usual when such is the case, the people were restless, discontented, and eager for a change in public affairs of any kind that possibly might ameliorate their condition. In Illinois, the Whigs having had control of the last legislature, and being as deeply in the internal improvement mire as the Democrats, ignored all questions of State policy and made their campaign altogether on national issues, and the military achievements of Gen'l Harrison.

Mr. Snyder writing, on April 6th, 1840, to Gen'l Semple, then in New Grenada, said:

"We are in the midst of one of the hottest contests for the Presidency that has ever taken place in this country. The opposition have united all their forces on Gen'l Harrison. All the disaffected and disappointed of all differences of opinion and incongruities—Abolitionists and Southern states rights men, bank and anti-bank, tariff and anti-tariff men of the north, south, east and west—all, all have joined forces for Harrison. The opposition has never before taken the field with such zeal and unanimity as in this campaign. Money, labor and unremitting exertion are employed to effect their purpose.

"Suspension of the banks and consequent fall in prices of real estate, produce and labor—in fine, the depreciation of property and scarcity of money—all aid their cause; and all disasters and the hard times they attribute to the present administration. The Democratic party has to bear the blame for all the mishaps and misfortunes of improvident and visionary speculators, and for the wild and useless system of internal improvements in the country. You know how very few men reason on principles; or are ever willing or capable to investigate the actual causes of hard times and scarcity of money. Few men will stop to reason when they

are in debt and have nothing to pay with, and can find no sale for the products of their labor. At the recent terms of Court in Madison and St. Clair judgments were obtained for over $250,000, and real estate put up for sale under execution had no purchasers, frequently no bidders.

"All this, with the mismanagement of our own party in this State, will carry the next election against the administration. Of this you may rest assured. I do not admit it here, of course; but such certainly will be the case. I do not give you this as my opinion alone, but I know it to be that of almost all the leading, intelligent and firm friends of our party. Hence, when the result of the election next fall is announced you may expect to see Illinois in the Federal ranks. I am now a stronger Democrat than I ever was. The more desperate the outlook for my party the closer I cling to its principles. It is but little credit to be zealous in a victorious majority, but some to stick firmly to a losing cause.

"I think in the old States Harrison is not—cannot be—as strong as he is in the west and southwest; but if he has gained in every other state as he has in Illinois he will be elected. I hope, however, such is not the case. Some favorable reaction may occur between now and November. The two parties are now for the first time perfectly organized, and the candidates are nominated on principle. Never before in this State were the party lines so handsomely drawn. Conventions named the men, and all personal considerations are sunk in devotion to party. New York is not better organized than most of our counties here are; party discipline pervades all classes. The result of this will be that our party will, if not in the next election, in the elections thereafter, be victorious. If the opposition should obtain the power they will not be able to hold it.

"Gen'l Robinson has declined being a candidate for re-election to the U. S. Senate. He informs me he is not a candidate for any office, and that his large and increasing family requires his constant attention at home. McRoberts is appointed Solicitor of the Land office—a small office with a salary of only $2,000 a year, which, you know, at Washington is nothing. His health is bad, and he expects to be promoted to something better. Should our party control the next legislature I do not know what distinguished Democrat will be elected to the Senate to succeed Robinson. Gov. Carlin had the legislature together again last winter, and, as

usual, made another wretched *faux pas* which, of course, hurt us. Carlin is the veriest d—n fool who ever tried to administer any state government since Adam's creation."

Gov. Reynolds was again "in the hands of his friends," and by common consent of the Democracy of the first district, was their candidate for Congress.

As Mr. Snyder's health improved somewhat with advance of milder weather, his party refused its sanction to his self-imposed retirement from active participation in politics, and, without consulting him, he was selected by the Democratic State convention, in April, for Presidential Elector for his district.* When, in 1836, he was a candidate for Congress, Esq. John Murray, a Whig, was elected his successor in the State Senate from St. Clair county, defeating William Anderson Beaird, a Democrat, who was Sheriff of the county from 1819 to 1830, but by delinquency in the final settlement of his acounts, and dissipation, had lost his former popularity. As it would devolve upon the legislature chosen in 1840 to elect a United States Senator to succeed Hon. John M. Robinson, and as the Democrats were intent on inaugurating certain reforms in the State, they determined to put forth every effort to regain their ascendency in the general assembly. St. Clair was one of the most important counties of the State to be redeemed from Whig rule. Casting around for a deliverer there, leaders of the Democracy concluded that Mr. Snyder was the most available member of their party to ensure success. importuned by his political and personal friends to lead the forlorn hope as their candidate for State Senator he finally reluctantly consented. He did not desire the position for all the honor it conferred he had before re-

* The Whig Presidential Elector for the same district was Hon. Samuel D. Marshall. of Shawneetown.

ceived in his six years' incumbency of it; and he feared that his health, though temporarily improved, would be jeopardized by the efforts he cosidered it his duty to make to secure his election, and in the four years of further active service if elected. But he saw the interests of his party were at stake and the people who had always before given him their hearty support and confidence now apealed to him to come to their assistance, he felt that he could not honorably resist that appeal, though it might demand a serious sacrifice on his part.

The Democratic national convention met in Baltimore on May 4, 1840, and unanimously—but very unwisely—nominated Martin Van Buren for re-election to the Presidency. It laid down as the code of principles of the Democratic party "hearty endorsement of those Jeffersonian doctrines which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation; non-interference by the general government with slavery, or other domestic institutions of the states; opposition to rechartering a National bank, and to internal improvements by the general government; also, to fostering one branch of industry to the detriment of another as by a protective tariff; also, opposition to the assumption by the government of the debts of any state contracted for local purposes, and in favor of practicing the most rigid economy in administering the government.

GOV. JOHN REYNOLDS.
Copied From His Portrait Painted at Washington City in 1835.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gov. John Reynolds.

In 1840, Gov. Reynolds and Adam W. Snyder were, for the second time, candidates for office on the same ticket —the one for Congress, and the other for State Senator —and in perfect harmony so far as related to the cardinal principles of their party. It is not probable that either specially exerted himself to secure the election of the other; nor is it absolutely certain that they voted for each other; but the strong, united opposition of the Whigs compelled them, for the time, to suspend personal antagonism, and forced an amicable concert of action for the good of their common cause.

It was in the fall of that year, when Gov. Reynolds was about to return to Washington City, that the amusing incident occurred, graphically related, with no loss of coloring, by Judge Gillespie,* as follows: "Adam W. Snyder and Gov. Reynolds were rivals and antagonists. It would not be going too far to say they were in a state of chronic hostility to each other. Their warfare never proceeded so far as to become violent. They were, in some respects, in the condition that a Kentuckian was, according to the account the '*Governor*' used to give. He used to tell of a Kentuckian who was 'calaboosed' in New Orleans for fighting. He said to one of his friends, who had called one day to condole with him, that he had made up his mind that if he ever got out of that infernal place, he would go back *to Kentucky where he could fight in peace.*

* Recollections of Early Illinois, and Her Noted Men. By Hon. Joseph Gillespie. Fergus & Co., Chicago, 1880, pp. 19-20.

"Snyder and Reynolds never broke the peace, but they were continually fighting, politically (although they were both Jackson men, and professedly Democrats.) They were generally aspirants for the same place—always in each other's way. Each one looked upon the other as being his 'evil genius,' and neither would have regarded the removal of the other to some other country as a very great evil. A man named Coonce* once called upon Snyder, to take the necessary steps to obtain some testimony with a view of its *perpetuation.* Snyder never liked the drudgery of the profession, or the office business. He loved to try a case and address a jury, which he could do with great ease to himseelf, and splendid effect. He endeavored to get rid of the task upon various pretexts; but Coonce was very importunate, and finally Snyder sat down to writing, and asked Coonce whose testimony he wished to take. The latter said, 'That of Gov. Reynolds.' Snyder looked up in amazement, and broke out with an exclamation, that he never heard of such folly as to go to the expense and trouble to perpetuate old Reynolds' testimony. 'Why, d—n him,' said he, '*he* will *never die.* I have been waiting for him to 'kick the bucket' for more than a quarter of a century, and his hold on life seems now to be stronger than it was when I first knew him; he will live forever, sir. I will not make a d——n fool of myself by seeking to perpetuate the testimony of a man who will outlive any record in existence."

A pen picture of Gov. Reynolds, accurately portraying him, with his numerous peculiarities and oddities, as he really was, is exceedingly difficult to produce. In some respects he was a living paradox, a strange mixture of sense and nonsense, possessing many sterling

* Peter Kuntz.

traits, with some reprehensible faults. He was neither a great or specially gifted man, but nevertheless, an extraordinary character whose successful career must be accepted as evidence that he possessed genius of a certain order. There was about him none of that force, commonly styled "personal magnetism," so essential for a leader of men; nor were his powers of mind of that lofty or transcendent kind that command the admiration and following of the multitude. But, an adept in the knowledge of human nature and human motives, he gained and held the confidence and support of the people, more by the exercise of consummate tact and craftiness than of talents of higher order.

In stature, Gov. Reynolds was full six feet high, of stout build, not corpulent but large-boned and muscular, weighing ordinarily about 180 pounds. He was somewhat round shouldered, with one shoulder slightly higher than the other, and walked deliberately, with downcast look, and shambling gait. His face was long, furrowed and always smoothly shaved, and in repose, had a benevolent and reverential expression. His forehead was high, but not broad; his nose straight and well shaped, his eyes blueish-gray, and his hair, when young, dark brown. He was always gentlemanly in appearance and apparel, with modest but ungraceful manners. With neither high culture nor refinement, claiming to be one of the humblest of the people, and constantly practicing the arts of electioneering—of which he was a perfect master—he never descended to masquerading in linsey hunting shirt and coonskin cap to gain the rabble's favor; but invariably dressed in well-made black clothing of fine texture with polished shoes, immaculate white shirt front and high silk hat.

As is generally known his parents were Protestant Irish. His father, Robert Reynolds, was born in County Monohon, and his mother in the city of Dundalk, in the Emerald Isle. His mother, whose maiden name was Margaret Moore, is said to have been superior to her husband in mental vigor and intelligence. With his father and father's family, Robert Reynolds and wife came to Philadelphia in 1785, and from there moved to Montgomery county in Pennsylvania, where John Reynolds was born on the 26th of February, 1788. When six months old his parents, grandparents and entire family moved to the vicinity of Knoxville, Tennessee, and from there Robert Reynolds, wife and children migrated to Kaskaskia in the year 1800, John, then twelve years old, driving one of his father's two teams all the way.

Robert Reynolds was a farmer, with some education, and learning. Usually he was of quiet and unobstrusive disposition, but when under the influence of liquor—as was often the case—he was irritable, boisterous and quarrelsome. In 1802 he was elected one of the delegates from Randolph county to the convention at Vincennes, called by Governor Harrison to petition Congress to abrogate the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787; and the next year he was elected to represent Randolph county in the legislature of Indiana Territory, also convened at Vincennes. A few years thereafter the Reynolds family left Randolph county and located in the Goshen settlement at the upper end of the American Bottom, in the edge of Madison county, and there Robert Reynolds and wife remained to the close of their lives. The family of Robert Reynolds comprised four sons and two daughters, of whom John was the

eldest. His brothers were James, who married a Miss Black and resided in Greene county; Robert, Jr., who married the daughter of Capt. Wm. B. Whiteside, of Randolph county, and Thomas, who married Miss McDonald, in Kaskaskia. One sister, Julia, married Mr. Belsha and lived all her life thereafter in St. Clair county; and Nancy, who became Mrs. Davis, died in Kansas in 1880. Though socially obscure and not highly educated, they were respectable and worthy citizens; but John never seemed to be very proud of them, and very seldom mentioned their names.

John Reynolds learned to read and write before coming to Illinois, and was the only one of the family who manifested the least desire to improve his mind and raise himself above the social stratum occupied by the others. He worked on his father's farm and grew up to be a stout, athletic lad, fond of active diversions, as jumping, wrestling, foot-racing and horse racing; but, be it said to his credit, he was not lazy enough to enjoy fishing; nor did he have the least fancy for dog and gun and the brutal, so-called "sport" of hunting. In the winter season he attended occasional country schools, and read such books as he could borrow, and later was taught by John Messenger higher arithmetic and the rudiments of land surveying. At the age of twenty-one, when he began to work for wages, a horse, saddle and bridle, a new suit of home-spun and home-made jeans clothes and a few dollars constituted all his worldly possessions.

He informed his uncle, John Reynolds, who still resided in Knox county, Tennessee, of his longing to further extend his education, and that generous relative invited him to come there and make his house his home,

and attend the "college" in that vicinity. That invitation the young man accepted with alacrity, and traveled to his uncle's farm on horseback, the greater part of the way alone.

The "college" he entered as a student, often proudly mentioned by him, was merely a select school in the country, six miles northeast of Knoxville, conducted by Rev. Isaac Anderson, who, constituting the entire faculty, "instructed a class of young men, in his college, and preached to his congregation every sabbath."* In the first of the two sessions he attended at that college he tells us he took the following Latin course: First, after the grammar, was Corderi; then *Selectae Profanis*, then "a kind of English Latin," followed by Caesar's Commentaries, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Virgil's Georgics and Aeneid, Horace's Satires and Art of Poetry, and, lastly, Cicero's Orations. He adds: "I finished my Latin studies with great celerity; but I often revised them afterwards at the college and taught classes in that language, so that, when I left the college, I was a good Latin scholar."

In the second session he "learned English grammar, Euclid's Elements of Geometry, commenced the study of the sciences and literature and studied geography and history carefully. I also read with care rhetoric and logic." He says he also "studied Dr. Paley's moral philosophy, astronomy and the science of chemistry in connection with natural philosophy."**

He then read law with a lawyer named Campbell, in Knoxville, for a few months, when his health gave way, with night sweats, spitting blood, cough, and other

* Reynolds' Life and Times, first edition, p. 112.

** The Governor wrote that account of his splendid collegiate education when 67 years old; 44 years after he left "college."

symptoms of serious pulmonary disease. His race horse died, and he remarks: "I possessed then nothing on earth save some few clothes and the commencement of the consumption." His uncle furnished him another horse and he returned to Illinois, where he soon regained his health; and, until his last final illness in 1865 was perhaps never confined to his bed a day on account of sickness.* He visited Knoxville again in 1812 and resumed his law studies with Mr. Campbell. Returning to Illinois in August of that year he at once enlisted in Capt. Judy's company for three months' service in guarding the settlements.

His "classic" education, of which he so much boasted in later years, really amounted to no more than the merest smattering of some of the higher branches taught by Mr. Anderson. Of algebra, astronomy and chemistry he knew absolutely nothing. Of English grammar he had learned very little; and never understood the first principles of rhetoric or logic. He possessed some natural talent for mathematics, and had progressed in the study of geometry as far as to memorize the demonstration of Euclid's fifth proposition. If he learned any Latin in Tennessee it was all forgotten when he got back to Illinois, as he was then profoundly ignorant of the simplest rudiments of that language, and never could comprehend the conjugation of a Latin verb, or translate a dozen Latin words. In after life, to bolster up his pretensions of Latin learning, he read

* When the volunteers were joined by Gen'l Gaines and his U. S. regulars, in a steamboat, eight miles below the mouth of Rock river, in June, 1831, and an attack upon Black Hawk, who was camped with his warriors in his old village, was planned for early next morning, Gov. Reynolds, who had accompanied "the boys" as Commander-in-chief, was suddenly taken sick and went aboard the boat where he remained until it was discovered that the Indians had fled, and then he as suddenly recovered. Not only in coarse jest, but in serious earnestness, he was charged with cowardice, and few doubted that his sickness was feigned to evade the expected battle.

English translations of Caesar's Commentaries, Virgil, Cicero's Orations and other authors he claimed to have studied at "college," and his faithful memory drew upon them as occasion required.

His memory was wonderfully retentive to the last days of his life; never forgetting faces, names or dates. His habits of thought were without method or order; and his ideas jumbled and disconnected, as was shown in his conversation and speeches, and is seen in all his writings. He was well informed and knew something of a great variety of subjects, but his knowledge of very few of them was clear, thorough and comprehensive. In his intercourse with the people he feigned ignorance not for popular effect, as some of his biographers assert, but to conceal his real ignorance and mask his vanity and self esteem.

The Illinois settlements were in very little danger of being drawn into the vortex of war waged with England in 1812, but great apprehensions were felt of Indian hostilities incited by the English on the northern frontier, which at that date was some distance south of the Sangamon river. When Capt. Judy's company was mustered out of service Reynolds joined the company of Capt. Wm. B. Whiteside, employed in "ranging," or patrolling, the border to awe the unfriendly Indians, and protect exposed settlers from their threatened incursions. While in that service he assisted in cutting and hauling the logs for building Fort Clark at the lower point of Peoria lake. It was that ranging service that gave him in later years the sobriquet of the "Old Ranger," of which he was very proud, and which he utilized to the best possible advantage in his many electioneering campaigns for office. But he was not a war-

rior and in all his military service seldom fired his gun, and never once at the enemy. He had none of the martial or cavalier spirit and was, in fact, destitute of moral and physical courage; never being known to resent an insult or affront, excepting with sarcasm or ridicule. After the Black Hawk war he was often unmercifully jeered by returned volunteers, who jocularly told—doubtless with little, or no, regard for exact truth—how he crawled into, or under, wagons, or otherwise sought safety, upon every Indian alarm; plainly indicating in their rude jokes that he had not distinguished himself for bravery or daring in that campaign.

The insatiable itching for office that characterized his life began with his enlistment in the ranging service. He soon obtained the office of sergeant, and before expiration of the year secured from Gov. Edwards the noncombatant's position of Judge Advocate which suited him far better than hunting for hostile Indians.

In 1814 he commenced the practice of law in Cahokia, residing there with his cousin, Joseph A. Beaird, a prominent and wealthy citizen of the old town, with whom he engaged in buying and selling real estate and property of all kinds. His legal talents were in very little demand, but he was industrious and thrifty, and when not trading did some land surveying for the settlers. During that period, he says, he bought and sold two dry goods stores valued at $10,000. He also bought slaves, as appears from an advertisement in the *Missouri Gazette* of May 25, 1816, in which he offered fifty dollars' reward for the apprehension of "a negro boy named Moses," who ran away from him at Cahokia two months before.

To increase his professional business, or prompted by

excessive benevolence—but much more probably to gain popularity—he advertised in the *Illinois Herald* of Kaskaskia on Dec. 16, 1816, as follows:

"*To the Poor People of Illinois and Missouri Territories:*

"To the above class of mankind whose pecuniary circumstances will not admit of feeing a lawyer, I tender my professional services as a lawyer, in all courts I may practice in, without fee or reward.

"JOHN REYNOLDS."

As a lawyer he never ranked above mediocrity and did not rely upon his profession for revenue, his services in the courts being largely for the poor and for political friends neither able nor willing to pay respectable fees. His chief source of income and profit was traffic in lands which he managed with shrewd discernment and success. He was not avaricious or grasping, but always careful of his own interests and a close economist even to the verge of parsimony. He was too much engrossed in public life to be a money maker, and his wealth never exceeded a respectable competency. For only two objects or purposes, he ever displayed liberality in the expenditure of money; the one was for the care and comfort of himself and household; the other was for electioneering. He had unlimited faith in the potency of printer's ink, and paid generously for press subsidies, and for printing his numerous speeches, political circulars and letters to the people.

He abhorred whiskey and whiskey drinkers, yet stifled his conscience and expended money freely, though grudgingly, for subsidizing dram shops, and for liquors to influence whiskey drinkers to vote for him.

He knew nothing of card playing, or games of any kind. The only species of gambling he ever indulged

in was limited betting on horse and foot races when a young man.

In 1817, then twenty-nine years of age, he married a beautiful Creole lady, a year younger than himself, who had twice before been led to the hymeneal altar. Her maiden name was Catherine Dubuque—then known as the widow Manegle—a daughter of Julien Dubuque, a Canadian by birth and noted Indian trader, in whose honor the town of Dubuque, in Iowa, was named. She was born in Cahokia, in 1789, and was first married to Michael La Croix, also an Indian trader and native of Canada, and for some time a resident of Peoria. Of that union two children were born, a son and daughter. About the beginning of the war of 1812 La Croix left his family and went to Canada, as he said, to purchase goods; and for three years nothing was heard from him directly. Mrs. La Croix said she heard in 1814 that he was dead, and, in the spring of 1815 she married another Canadian Frenchman named Joseph Manegle, who had a young daughter, Marie, by a previous marriage. A few months after that marriage, the war having closed, La Croix—Enoch Arden-like—reappeared in Cahokia. He said that arriving in Canada about the commencement of hostilities he was "pressed" into the English military service, in which he rose to the rank of Lieutenant, and that he had frequently written to his wife, but some designing person had intercepted his letters. Gov. Reynolds states that Mr. La Croix, on his return to Cahokia, in 1815, was naturalized.

Joseph Manegle died about a year after his marriage with Mrs. La Croix. She did not rejoin her first husband*—the British patriot—who returned about that

* The following is from Niles' Register, vol. 8, p. 263, July 10th, 1815: "Traitors: The undernamed gentry were residents within this and

time; but early in 1817 married John Reynolds. Mr. La Croix remained about Cahokia until his death, in 1821. Gov. Reynolds says: "He was much regretted by his family and acquaintances," and adds: "He was a man of sound mind and great energy and had received a liberal education."*

After his marriage Reynolds took his bride, with her two children and the child Manegle left, to the fine farm he owned on the eastern outskirts of Cahokia, and there resided until their removal to Belleville, in 1831. Mrs. Reynolds was a graceful, charming woman, possessing many noble qualities of heart and mind. She was a Catholic, of course, with very limited education, and little, if any, knowledge of the English language. She died in Belleville on the 5th of November, 1834, and was buried in Cahokia.

Reynolds had learned to speak the Creole dialect of Cahokia, and subsequently learned to read French a little, but not to write it. He was at that time quite prosperous and a man of prominence in the community, popular and respected by all. He was then very deeply interested in the movement agitated for changing the

the neighboring territories previous to the war, and always claimed the rights of citizens of the United States; but as soon as war was declared, they to a man took part against us, and were active in the British interests in different parts of the Indian country; Robert Dickson, James Aird, Duncan Graham, Francois Boutillier, Edward La Gouthrie, Bichois of Prairie du Chien, Jacob Franks, the brothers Grieogneaus of Green Bay, Joseph and Michael La Croix and Lasaillier of Milwaukee, Joseph Bailey and his cousin, Louis Buisson, Louis Benet, formerly of Peoria."

It was not strictly just to thus stigmatize those men as "traitors." They were not citizens of the United States but of Canada. True, they had come into the wild, sparsely settled western territories of the United States, where most of them had engaged in business and married; but they had not severed their allegiance to the British crown. When their country became involved in war, as true patriots, they regarded it their duty to return to her aid. The war over, Mr. La Croix having, as he conceived it, discharged his duty to the land of his birth, concluded to renounce further obligations to its government, and thereupon returned to Cahokia and became a naturalized and loyal citizen of the United States.

* Pioneer History of Illinois. First edition, p. 350.

Territorial form of government of Illinois to that of a State, and when the convention was called, in 1818, for framing a State constitution, he desired very much to take part in it as a delegate. But Judge Jesse B. Thomas, who always regarded him as a presumptuous ignoramus, was so firmly intrenched in the esteem and confidence of the people of St. Clair county—and entire Territory—that he could, not only command his own election as a delegate, but dictate that of his colleagues, John Messenger and James Leman, Jr., also. And for so doing he incurred the implacable enmity of John Reynolds for all time.

The first State legislature of Illinois convened at Kaskaskia on the 5th of October, 1818. In his autobiography, Gov. Reynolds says: "I had not the least intention to visit the seat of government at all. I cared very little who was elected to any office. One thing was certain, I courted nothing myself. My friends urged me to visit with them the General Assembly in session at Kaskaskia, and I did so." Judge Scott, who knew him well, correctly remarks upon that assertion: "The truth is, he did not have friends enough to keep him away."* He went there for the express purpose of obtaining an office of some kind if possible, and would have accepted almost anything offered him from doorkeeper up. "I had been in Kaskaskia but a few days," he says, "when it was urged on me to know if I would accept of a judgeship if I was elected. This broke on me like a clap of thunder. I was in truth persuaded to become a candidate for the office." As Judge Scott says: "It was then, as it is now, not very difficult for one's 'friends' to persuade a man to accept an office especially

* Supreme Court of Illinois, 1818. By John M. Scott, Bloomington, Ill., 1896, p. 124.

when he wants it and is trying his best to get it." It is known that he worked for the office diligently, and was the last of the four judges elected, (one of whom, William P. Foster, was an arrant fraud and not a lawyer at all) and succeeded by a small majority, receiving 22 votes of the 40 cast. None of his old associates could ever realize the dignity of the position to which he was elevated, nor could he; and no one thought of addressing him as "Judge" Reynolds; all called him "John."

When he found that, from the extreme scarcity of material at hand, there was a possibility of his election to a judgeship of the supreme court, it can well be imagined that "it broke on him like a clap of thunder," for it was a position far beyond his abilities, and above anything he had expected to ask for.

In his *Life and Times* he indignantly denied the current version of how he pronounced sentence upon the murderer, Greene, as related in Ford's *History of Illinois*, and elsewhere.* But notwithstanding his denial, the account was literally true, and well authenticated by responsibe persons who were present and heard it.

His record as a judge is, at least, respectable. He made no grave mistakes, for when intricate law questions arose in his court he did not hesitate to obtain—on the sly—the opinions of Daniel P. Cook, Elias K. Kane, Wm. Mears, and other competent lawyers. His written opinions when justice and chief justice of the supreme court were not numerous, very brief and quite creditable. During the six years of his judgeship he meddled busily and insidiously in every political election, with the object of strengthening his own popularity among those on the winning side, and was constantly planning to se-

* Ford's History of Illinois, p. 84.

cure some other office at, or before, the expiration of his judicial term.

Electioneering was, with him, a fixed habit. His views upon public questions were shaped and guided by recognized principles only when those principles were entertained by the majority. He never led public opinion, but followed it abjectly; and seldom expressed positive convictions upon any issue or question until assured they were sanctioned by the majority of voters. His aspirations became lofty and unflagging, and were never deterred by the least distrust of his own ability to fill acceptably any official position. Though occasionally defeated he was never discouraged, and his successes were marvelous. He was first a militia sergeant, then judge advocate. In 1818 his ambition to sit as a delegate in the constitutional convention was thwarted, but before the close aof the year he was elected a justice of the supreme court, and became, in time, chief justice. In 1823 he was defeated for the United States Senate by Jesse B. Thomas. In 1824 he failed to be re-elected supreme court justice, and the same year was defeated for the lower house of the legislature. In 1826 he was elected to the lower house of the legislature, and re-elected in 1828. In 1830 he was elected Governor. In 1834 he was elected to Congress for a full term and an unexpired term. In 1836 he was defeated for Congress, but again elected in 1838 and also in 1840. He was defeated for the nomination for Congress in the first Congressional convention held by the Democratic party in his district, in 1842, by Robert Smith, of Alton. That failure retired him to private life. His political race was run, the people having outgrown the pioneer sentiment and his antiquated methods, so popular in the

early backwoods settlements. His passion for office, however, was still unsatiated. In 1846 he was elected to the lower house of the legislature by a small majority, and in 1848 was defeated, in St. Clair county, for the State Senate, by Col. J. L. D. Morrison, then a Whig, who received 1681 votes to 1224 for Reynolds. In 1852 he was again elected a representative in the legislature, along with Wm. H. Snyder, son of his old adversary. In organization of the House at that session, as a compliment in recognition of his long and valuable public services, he was elected Speaker.

In 1858 he was nominated by the anti-Douglas faction of the Democracy a candidate for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Ex-Gov. A. C. French was nominated by the Douglas faction for the same position; but both were defeated by Newton Bateman, the Republican candidate, whose majority over Reynolds, however, was only 2143 in a total vote of 252,100. The last public appearance of Gov. Reynolds in the political arena was in 1860, when he was selected by the anti-Douglas Democrats of Illinois as one of their delegates to the national Democratic convention at Charleston, S. C. That factional delegation was excluded from the convention, and the Douglas delegation, of which Hon. Wm. A. Richardson was chairman, was admitted. The failure of Douglas to secure the Presidential nomination at that convention, gave the Old Ranger, though debarred from active participation in it, unutterable satisfaction.

In all the offices Gov. Reynolds held he acquitted himself with credit, discharging his public duties faithfully and conscientiously. He well knew his own deficiencies, and when dealing with important matters beyond his capacity, was not backward in asking the advice and as-

sistance of his superiors in knowledge and experience. In his memorable contest with Kinney for the Governorship, he strongly advocated free trade and other Democratic doctrines, but in his first message to the legislature (which was evidently written, in great part, by ex-Gov. Edwards) he favored a protective tariff, internal improvements by the general government, and other ultra Whig measures, and also the Edwards idea of State ownership of all public lands within the State limits. On questions dividing the people nearly equally he was prudently silent, or non-committal; but zealously advocated the cause of education, temperance, morality and economy in public expenses, and other platitudes upon which there was no diversity of opinion. He was seldom without a hobby of his own to talk about, to write for the newspapers about, and to address the people about in public meetings he called for that purpose. And they were always of a kind that accorded with prevailing public sentiment, and provoked little or no opposition. In the beginning of his career unstinted abuse of England and the English with laudations of the 4th of July and Declaration of Independence formed the staple of his "principles." Then panegyrics of Gen'l Jackson, and later, the annexation of Texas. His next theme was the Oregon boundary question, with furious insistence upon "fifty-four forty or fight," from which he switched off on the war with Mexico, and finally made the acquisition of Cuba the paramount object of our national life.

On the stump, or rostrum, his apearance was neither commanding or graceful. His gestures when speaking were few and awkward, confined to a pump-handle motion of the arm, and a peculiar ducking down of the

head to emphasize his sentences. He was voluble without the slightest approach to eloquence, and spoke in earnest but incoherent, conversational strain. His speeches were rambling and disconnected, but attractive because of his original phraseology and witty, spicy illustrations. His best and most numerous anecdotes, however—as those of Lincoln and Jo Gillespie—could not be told in the presence of ladies or admitted in public print. His grotesque semi-comic discourse always drew audiences, a majority of whom attended for amusement, rather than interest in what he had to say.

In his case the laws of heredity were singularly at fault; as he inherited from his Irish parents but two or three Celtic traits. Those were wit, blarney and business honor. In financial matters he was scrupulously honest and through all the public stations he held not a charge of official corruption was ever brought against him. He was totally devoid of Irish pugnacity and of Irish mirthfulness. There was no music at all in his composition; he could neither sing nor whistle a note, nor distinguish one tune from another. Nor could he dance —probably never tried to—though associated all his life with jovial, dancing people. He strangely failed, also, to inherit Irish fondness for whiskey;* and, although he paid for quantities of it and carried liquors about with him when electioneering, he never tasted it, nor

* Gov. Reynolds said that when a young man he occasionally drank liquor, in accordance with the generally recognized social custom of the country; but that he never liked it. One day, he said, in the spring of 1814, a short time after he had been admitted to the bar, he was attending the last term of the court, held by Judge Jesse B. Thomas, in the old court house at Cahokia, just before removal of the county seat of St. Clair county from that old village to Belleville, when his father, Robert Reynolds, came in very much under the influence of liquor, and so disturbed the court proceedings by loud and profane language, and vulgar drunken conduct, that, by order of the judge, he was ejected from the court room by the sheriff. The Governor added that he was so mortified by that event, and felt such a sense of disgrace, that he then and there resolved he would never again taste liquor so long as he lived; and he faithfully adhered to that resolution.

ever used tobacco in any form. He had nothing of the military spirit of the Irish. As Commander-in-chief of the Illinois forces in the Black Hawk war he was a ridiculous failure. His fear of losing prestige with the volunteers rendered discipline and order impossible, and made the so-called "war" an expensive farce. He had a natural repugnance to fire arms and weapons of all kinds, and not the slightest conception of military tactics, evolutions, or strategy.

Beneath his habitual affability and friendliness there was concealed a hard stratum of selfishness; a jealousy and envy of the politically prosperous, and a valuation of friendships by the standard of loyalty to *his* service. Duplicity was another of his shortcomings. He emulated Uriah Heap in professions of humility, and on all occasions covered his vanity with a thin veneering of humbleness. All his efforts were "humble," and he was every one's "humble servant." He made no higher claim to social distinction than that of an "humble citizen;" yet courted adulation, and esteemed himself a great man. His pretense that he did not want public positions but was forced to offer for them by his "friends;" that he "consented to allow his name to be used to gratify his friends;" or that he sought the office "for the good of the country," or "the benefit of the people," and other similar transparent humbuggery, of course, deceived no one.

In his *Life and Times* he says: "For many years before 1830, when I offered for Governor of the State, I had no political ambition or aspirations for office whatever;" yet, previous to 1830, he had aspired to a seat in the constitutional convention; was a successful applicant for a supreme court judgeship; was a candidate for

the U. S. Senate; applied for re-election to the judgeship, and was three times a candidate for the legislature. Of his first election to the legislature in 1826, after his defeat for it two years before, he makes the foolish but characteristic assertion: "I entered into it as much to gratify my friends and the people as myself." Again (on page 518) he says: "I was on the circuit practicing law when Gov. Carlin wrote me that he had appointed me a Commissioner to make the loan for the canal. I had not the least intimation whom he would appoint until I received his letter. I called on him at Vandalia and had much conversation with him on the subject. I had no desire to visit Europe and urged the Governor to appoint some other person. He refused and said I must go as he *knew* me and could trust me."

It is well known that Gov. Reynolds, elected to Congress the summer before, was not practicing law but nominally;* that he spent several weeks at Vandalia working up that trip to Europe at public expense; that Fund Commissioners were already provided for negotiating State loans; that two of them did go to England, and disposed of all State bonds that could be sold there, and that Gov. Carlin would probably not have thought of sending special Commissioners for that purpose had he not been urged by his old comrade, Gov. Reynolds, to do so. The sequel proved Gov. Carlin to have been sadly mistaken in the "trust" he is represented to have reposed in the Old Ranger's financiering astuteness.

* Lyman Trumbull, a native of Colchester, Massachusetts, came to Belleville in 1837, from Georgia, where he taught school for a year. He was soon admitted to the bar, and in 1839 entered into partnership with Gov. Reynolds for the practice of law. In 1840 Reynolds was elected to Congress and Trumbull to the legislature, when, by mutual consent, the partnership was dissolved.

Dissimulating and truckling in politics as he was, and ever watchful to float with the strongest currents of public opinion, Gov. Reynolds had views of his own—not proclaimed abroad on all occasions, however—on certain questions that he held to all his life with unwavering firmness. Of them, one, probably learned from his father, was hatred of England and the English government. Another was the inflexible belief that African slavery was morally and legally right. With equal sincerity he rejected the theories and tenets of Christianity with all that pertains to the supernatural. In early life the infidelity of Tom Paine and later, the cultured agnosticism of Ingersoll, received his zealous approval. In the evening of his life, when convinced that he had outlived all probabilities of further political preferment, and was financially independent, he threw off the self-imposed restraints of his long active career and gave free scope to his candid sentiments. His habitual use of profane and vulgar language through life became more pronounced and unguarded. With advancing age he grew more arrogant in his pretensions to "classic" learning and literary attainments; more bold and outspoken in defense of the institution of slavery, and more extreme in his denunciation of miraculous theology. He was a slaveholder until slavery was extinguished in Illinois by adoption of the constitution of 1847, and—very strangely—that fact was never urged by his opponents as an objection to his election in any of his numerous campaigns for office. After slavery was finally abolished in the State he employed none but negro servants, to whom he was very kind, as he had always been to his slaves. In his retirement and old age the Governor, followed by a little colored boy whom he

called Veto, were familiar figures about the streets of Belleville. Veto and his mother were formerly the Governor's slaves, and chose to remain with him after their emancipation.

At Georgetown, D. C., in May, 1836, Gov. Reynolds was united in marriage to Miss Sarah Wilson, a young lady of Maryland, who was twenty-three years, less fourteen days, his junior in age. She was tall, of faultless figure, cultured and highly educated.

At the close of his Congressional career he purchased a large, elegant residence—the counterpart of Mr. Snyder's—situated a short distance from the public square in Belleville, where himself and wife passed the balance of their days in luxurious comfort and ease. No children blessed either of the Governor's marriages; but he reared and cared for the two La Croix children of his first wife and her stepdaughter, Marie Manegle, with all of a father's affectionate and tender solicitude.

In a corner of his spacious residence lot he had built a one-story brick house of two or three rooms, ostensibly for a law office, but the little law business he did was of minor importance, and he attended the courts more with the view of keeping in touch with "the people" and his "friends" than from any desire to secure professional employment. Situated in his forced retirement with every convenience and comfort—including a well assorted library—that could contribute to lighten the burdens of declining years, but still ambitious for distinction no longer to be obtained in politics, he entered the inviting field of authorship. Reviewing the past is the logical pastime of advanced age; and, fortunately for posterity, Gov. Reynolds concluded to write and publish the recollections of his singularly eventful life,

and all he knew or could gather of the pioneer settlements of Illinois. For some years he had gradually become more studious, and had added to his daily newspaper reading desultory studies of American history, natural sciences and speculative philosophy, without the slightest abatement of his habitual interest in current political matters.

His last term in Congress expired on the 3d of March, 1843. Returning home, he earnestly turned his attention to private business affairs neglected during his official absence at Washington, and in the meantime gathered material for the *Pioneer History of Illinois* he long had in contemplation. After completion of his office building the compilation of his book occupied much of his time. His method of writing was peculiarly his own. In preparing his literary works he made use of neither desk or table, but resting his paper—the cheapest he could buy—on his right knee he wrote with a pencil, paying no attention to the conversation of those about him, and never revised, interlined, erased, or corrected a word or sentence.

The idea of Gov. Reynolds writing a book seemed to those who knew him best to be ludicrous and absurd. When mentioned it provoked a smile and was the source of much amusement and many rude jests among his acquaintances. He had himself no sanguine expectation that it would meet with ready or extensive sales, and prudently arranged to publish it as economically as possible. He purchased an old hand press and lot of type which he installed in his law office, and hired compositors out of other employment to print it. The *Pioneer History of Illinois* was issued in 1852 with a brief introduction by the author apologizing for his "humble" and

"unpretending" efforts. In appearance it was indeed an "unpretending" volume, and was received by his fellow citizens of Belleville with jeers and derisive criticisms. The internal arrangement of the book—if it can be said to have any arrangement—is highly characteristic of its author, without connection, system or order. Events occurring a century apart are recorded on the same page; and in close proximity history and biography are associated with remarks on green-headed flies. As Judge Scott remarks, it appears as though he had thrown his manuscript down in a pile as he wrote it, and told his compositors to help themselves when they wanted copy.

But with its many technical defects and occasional inaccuracies—as, for instance, his statement that Fort Chartres was so named because it had a charter from the crown—it is a work of priceless value occupying alone an original field, exhaustively treated, and, in the main, reliable. The plain, homely style in which it is written gives it a peculiar charm. No other person in the State could have written such a history but Gov. Reynolds, and he wrote it just at the right time, when many of the early pioneers (whom he consulted) were still living; and much of the great mass of facts (names of persons, and dates) he collected, if not then recorded would have been irretrievably lost. It is a store of inestimable historic wealth in records of thrilling incidents and events that occurred when laying the foundations of our great State; in the many biographical sketches of its founders; in quaint but vivid pictures of pioneer life, and of the social and political progress of that era, that cannot elsewhere be obtained. Had John Reynolds before been utterly un-

known that unique, unpretending volume alone would have ensured his lasting fame; and will render his name imperishable so long as the name of Illinois endures.

[Between Gov. Reynolds and myself (the writer of this sketch), then a school boy, there existed a cordial and intimate friendship dating from some time before he commenced to write the *Pioneer History*, and continuing to his last hours, which, to me, is now a most pleasing and gratifying memory. Calling on him one day, on my way from school, I found him deeply absorbed in a lengthy newspaper review of a small volume, recently issued anonymously, entitled *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*, to which he was about to call my especial attention, when I informed him I had the book and had just read it. "The hell you say! Where did you get it, John?" said he. He was so impatient to see the work that I went home immediately and brought it to him. It was not returned to me until after his death, nearly twenty years later. That small volume—a masterly compilation by Robert Chambers—profoundly impressed the Old Ranger. The nebular hypothesis of planetary formation, and Lamarck's theory of evolution were a startling revelation to him. They accorded exactly with his crude notions of cosmic origin, and received his unqualified assent. The possibility of a new undiscovered natural law suggested by the Babbage calculating machine, fairly bewildered him with puzzled surprise. The *Vestiges* profoundly impressed his mind and so interested him that he resolved to enter the lecture field, as well as that of authorship. Thereupon he prepared several lectures on natural history, the sciences and natural and moral philosophy, a few of which he de-

livered to amused, but unappreciative, audiences in Belleville and others he incorporated in his romance entitled the *Life and Adventures of John Kelly*].

When departing from the beaten paths of history and biography to invade the enchanting realm of fiction, though he garnished the coinage of his very obtuse imagination with learned ethical and philosophical discourses, the Governor transcended his literary powers. His *Adventures of John Kelly*, published in 1853, was a flat failure. It had neither plan or plot, and was merely a rambling narrative framed to introduce his unused lectures. The hero jumping out of the court house window into a lot of bee hives in the center of the city of New Orleans, intended by the Governor for humor, was not generally appreciated, and thought to be too far-fetched to be funny.

His next work, appearing in 1854, was a series of *Sketches* of what he observed when visiting the New York Crystal Palace, the first of the great expositions held in this country. The little book is pleasantly written and contains some descriptive, statistical and historical information of interest. He published the next year, 1855, from his own printing office, another "unpretending" volume entitled "*My Own Times, Embracing also the History of My Life.*" As indicated by its title, the work is not only the Governor's autobiography, but a supplement to, or continuation of, his *Pioneer History*, completing it and greatly enhancing its value. The division into many chapters of his *Life and Times* is a mechanical improvement, but otherwise it presents the same originality of style, and the same *melange* of text as the *Pioneer History.*

A marked feature of the Governor's biographical

sketches is his indiscriminate praise of everybody. Of very few of the old pioneers he speaks disparagingly. He describes them all as exceptionally "talented," "strong minded," "honest," "respectable" people, having no faults worth mentioning. But that politic "blarney," intended for their living descendants, detracts nothing from the high merit of his histories.

In 1856, or 1857, he published a small book of 118 pages entitled, *The School Advocate—An Essay on the Human Mind and Its Education*, which is now so completely out of print that no copy of it can be found, and but few persons know that he wrote such a work. It was, in literary value, about on a parity with the philosophical chapters of *John Kelly*—an attempted discussion of a subject entirely beyond his capacity, that attracted but little attention when issued and was soon forgotten.*

The next product of his pen was a sketch of Dr. John Mason Peck, bearing the impressive title of *Friendship's Offering*, issued from the *Advocate* office in Belleville in May, 1858. It is a small volume of thirty-four pages, divided into twenty-five chapters. In literary worth it is no improvement on his other compositions, having the same confusion of subjects, and the same absence of system and order. It is in no sense a biography of Dr. Peck, only a mess of fulsome praise—intended as a token of sincere regard for a departed friend.

With very few traits in common and many points of dissimilarity Dr. Peck and Gov. Reynolds were for years strangely attached to each other. They were united in advocacy of patriotism, national, state and personal honor, temperance and education. Both were opposed

* But for a notice of this little book in the Sangamon Journal of November, 1857, written by Prof. John Russell, of Bluffdale, Ill., all knowledge of it would now be lost.

to disturbing the institution of slavery where it existed, and they both believed the condition of the southern negro was better as a slave than if free.

Dr. Peck was a Yankee, a Whig, opposed to the extension of slavery, a religious enthusiast, almost fanatical in support of Sunday Schools and foreign Missionary work, and detested profanity, immorality and vulgarity. Reynolds was a Democrat, despised Yankees, favored extension of slavery to every state and territory, held Sunday Schools, Missionaries and Ministers in utmost contempt, was an infidel, profane and often vulgar. Yet, each sought and enjoyed the companionship of the other and held each other in high esteem.

The *Friendship's Offering* made but slight impression upon the public, and, from a commercial standpoint, was a failure.

In 1852 Gov. Reynolds was elected a member of the lower house of the legislature, and on organization of that body, in January, 1853, he was elected Speaker. That success kindled anew his life long mania for public position. To impress the fact upon his friends that he was still in their hands he commenced publication, from his printing office, of an organ of his own. Associated with two young practical printers they issued, in February, 1854, the first number of *The Eagle*, a weekly Democratic newspaper, edited by the Governor. His friends, however, did not see fit to force a nomination upon him that year, and *The Eagle* quietly expired before the close of its first volume.

In the winter of 1858-9 *The Star of Egypt*, a weekly paper, edited by Gov. Reynolds and James W. Hughes, was issued from the Governor's printing office. It was a Buchanan campaign paper and did stalwart service for

its cause through the one season of its existence; but the Old Ranger as an editor gained no new laurels. His anti-Douglas tirades were applauded by a few, but were regarded as the drivelings of dotage by a large majority of Democrats who fairly worshiped the great Little Giant.

After establishing his printing office the Governor learned to set type, and often amused himself with setting up and printing in hand-bill form for free distribution, his "views on the issues of the day," "Peace offerings," "Olive Branches," and "Speeches delivered by ex-Gov. Reynolds to large and enthusiastic meetings," called at his instigation to afford him the opportunity to "address the people."

His last literary production of note was published in the midst of the turbulent excitement that convulsed the country in 1860, culminating the next year in horrors of civil war. He labeled it "*The Balm of Gilead*," perhaps in a spirit of irony, and named it "*An Inquiry Into the Right of American Slavery*." It is a book of forty-eight pages, issued from his own printing office, and differs in composition from all his other writings, that scattered —shot-gun like—to cover all subjects, in being confined closely to the logical discussion of his topic. It embodies the best thoughts and studies of his life on the subject of slavery, and all the arguments that could be advanced in its defense. It is better and more concisely written than his other productions, and differs from them in the tone of malevolence that pervades it. For these reasons it has been intimated that he did not write it, but there is little doubt that it emanated from his own pen, with liberal plagiarizing from eminent southern writers and speakers. From the great anthropological

work of Nott & Gliddon entitled *Types of Mankind*, that appeared in 1857, he drew much of his inspiration for the *Balm of Gilead*. Those distinguished authors produced a vast array of facts and arguments to sustain the theory of diversity of creation, from which they deducted the conclusion that the negro was an indigenous product of Africa, very low down in the scale of humanity—if indeed a human being. That doctrine received the Governor's unqualified approval as a verification of the opinions on that subject he had always entertained, with the logical corollary that being an inferior animal the negro should be held in bondage by the superior Caucasian. But it was labor lost, for the time for pleading in slavery's cause was past.

His interest in the fiery political turmoil preceding the civil war was intense. Conscious that he was beyond the pale of further office holding he was no longer restrained by fear of public censure, and gave free expression on all occasions to his true sentiments. He bitterly opposed both Lincoln and Douglas, and was loud in his support of Breckenridge for the Presidency. He strongly advocated peace, and preservation of the Union, but only on certain conditions. As a Southern Democrat, he held the Abolitionists, Republicans and Douglas Democrats—all equally odious to him—responsible for the distracted condition of the country.

In the four years of civil war the sympathies of Gov. Reynolds were all for the southern cause. Only his advanced age and respect for his past services to the State saved him from arrest and imprisonment for his constant ill-tempered criticisms of the north, and vehement laudation of the south.

In the history of Illinois, Gov. Reynolds alone has the

distinction of having held the highest position in each of the three co-ordinate branches of State government, *i. e.*, Governor, Chief Justice of the supreme court, and Speaker of the House of Represntatives. He served for six years as a judge, four years as Governor, eight years in the legislature and seven years in Congress. He was defeated once each for the legislature, for the United State Senate, for Congress, for the State Senate and for State Superintendent of Schools.

John Quincy Adams, who served in Congress with Gov. Reynolds, recorded in his *Diary* this estimate of him: "He is untruthful, vulgar and knavish;" a harsh judgment of him not altogether just or true. He was at times vulgar in speech unquestionably. In politics he was cunning, hypocritical and, possibly knavish; but in all business affairs he was honest, and in all social relations he was an honorable man and good citizen. His jealousy and envy of rivals had no admixture of malice or vindictiveness. He offended no one purposely, was ever ready to oblige or assist a friend or neighbor, was kind and tender hearted, and deeply moved by the suffering, or misery, of man or beast. His habits, excepting in use of vulgar language, were most exemplary. An undue fondness for the fair sex was, by some, very unjustly attributed to him. An anecdote he told, with the zest that he always related jokes or anecdotes of which he himself was the butt, hinting at the weakness just mentioned, represented him one evening, after supper, rummaging about the pantry and closets, when his wife asked him what he was looking for. He answered that he was hunting for a lantern, as he was going up town and the night was very dark. "I would hardly think," said she, "that you would want a light when going to the places you usually visit after night."

But he was not a "lady's man," and rather shunned their society. In his intercourse with all classes he was invariably friendly, social and kind, inclined to charity and benevolence, yet very selfish, and not at all liberal or generous with his means.

Gov. Reynolds lived to see the close of the terrible conflict between the northern and southern states, the final and complete abolition of slavery, and the triumph of the Union cause. He felt that result to be a personal defeat and humiliation, but was still defiant.

The ravages of time had at length undermined his iron constitution; and when, eight or ten days after the assassination of President Lincoln, he was stricken down with pneumonia, his exhausted vitality was too feeble to resist its attack. He realized that he had reached the terminus of his long and remarkable course, but felt not the slightest trepidation; nor experienced the least wavering of his materialistic belief that "Death ends all."

A minister of the gospel impelled by a sense of duty came to the dying man's bedside, and told him of the error of his views, and of the glorious consolations of the true faith, and transcendent bliss of Christian hopes. The reverend gentleman paused to note the effect of his eloquent exhortation, and then the Governor turned, with a look of withering contempt, and gasped, "The hell you say."

Gov. Reynolds died, at his home in Belleville, on the 8th of May, 1865, aged 77 years, 2 months and 10 days. His wife survived him but two and a half months, dying, of cancer, on the 17th of the following July. Their ashes rest together in Walnut Hill cemetery, near Belleville, beneath a stately monument erected to their mem-

ory by Mrs. Coleman, the only sister of Mrs. Reynolds, who inherited the main portion of their estate.

After the burial of Gov. Reynolds, it was discovered that all his private papers, correspondence, documents, and a Will he is supposed to have made, had totally disappeared. That he had executed a last Will and Testament is not positively known; but the destruction of his papers and manuscripts entailed a loss to the public—particularly to students of Illinois history—irreparable and beyond computation.

CHAPTER XV.

The "Coon Skin and Hard Cider" Campaign of 1840—Mr. Snyder elected State Senator and Presidential Elector—He bet on Van Buren and lost—Extra Session of the Legislature—Gillespie and Lincoln jumped out of the Legislative hall to break the quorum—Reforming the Judiciary—The Mormon Charters—Stephen A. Douglas.

The political contest of 1840 was the most memorable, for wild excitement and extravagant demonstrations, ever known in the State's history. So wholly and thoroughly was the campaign in Illinois dominated by national issues that local affairs of the State, including its dismal financial condition, were seldom publicly mentioned prior to the State election. The Whigs were well organized, and determined to overthrow the iron rule of Jacksonism at any cost. They regarded the administration of Van Buren as but a continuation of Jackson's, only more odious. Though Van Buren was admittedly an able statesman of clean record personally he was wealthy, aristocratic, and not one of the common people. The fact that he had seen no military service placed him, and the party he led, in great disadvantage against a candidate with the military renown of Gen'l Harrison, who had fought the British and Indians with valor and success. The Whigs laid no stress upon Gen'l Harrison's scholastic attainments, or his very creditable civil services, or his political views; but loudly extolled his patriotism and war record, his simple pioneer habits and unquestioned integrity of character.

In appealing to the people, one of their most effective arguments was the prevailing hard times, attributed by them to Democratic misrule; and which they, unwisely, pledged their party, if successful at the presidential elec-

tion, would relieve and substitute such prosperity that every laborer would receive for his work "two dollars a day and roast beef." They adopted the tactics, in electioneering for Harrison, that the Jackson men employed with telling effect in 1832, but with a hundred fold more furor and sensational parade. For months before the election popular interest and excitement were wrought up to the highest tension. The backwoods life of Gen'l Harrison, and his victory at the battle of Tippecanoe, were typified in daily parades and processions by the most extravagant and grotesque displays of log cabins and all sorts of canoes, yawls and scows, mounted on wheels, garnished with coon skins, live coons, barrels of hard cider, gourds, deer horns and Indian trappings, accompanied by brass bands, fifes and drums, flags and banners, and files of mounted men dressed in buckskin, with coonskin caps, having powder horns, bullet pouches and long flint-lock rifles.

A common feature of the daily demonstrations in that famous "coonskin and hard cider" campaign for election of "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler too," was a large log cabin on wheels, drawn by eight or ten fine horses, or as many yokes of oxen, with live coons on the cabin roof, coonskins tacked on its sides and open doors, and in the cabin a man in backwoods garb sitting on a hard cider barrel playing the fiddle, and others, in similar attire, drinking —or pretending to drink—hard cider from gourds. That was followed by an immense canoe, on wheels, embellished with emblems of pioneer life of the same kind, and several lesser ones with the usual accompaniments of bands and flags, and long processions of people on horseback and in all sorts of conveyances.

The Democrats could boast of no war achievements or

early plebian associations for their candidate. He had never worn a linsey hunting shirt and moccasins, or drank hard cider from a gourd. In vain they sought to stem the impetuous tide of popular favor for "Old Tippecanoe" by attempting to revive the fading lustre of Old Hickory. But Jackson had passed into history. Harrison, the blood-stained hero, was the reigning idol, and awoke a cyclone of patriotic enthusiasm that swept the country.

However, at the State election on the 2d of August, 1840, the Democrats carried Illinois, owing—the Whigs asserted—to the foreign voters on the canal works. A large majority of the foreigners in Illinois then, and on to the Kansas-Nebraska schism in 1854, imbued with democratic principles at home before emigrating, voted the Democratic ticket here.

In the first Congressional district Gov. Reynolds defeated Watson H. Webb by a large majority. In the second district, Zodak Casey was re-elected and, in the third, the Whigs elected Col. John T. Stuart. Mr. Snyder was elected Senator in St. Clair county, receiving 1756 votes to 913 cast for Col. Vital Jarrott, a native of Cahokia, the Whig candidate. The result of the August election dampened the spirits of the Whigs in Illinois, as the Democrats elected two of the three Congressmen and a majority of both houses of the legislature. Still, the Whigs hoped to carry the State for Harrison in November, and continued their pageants of log cabins, canoes, coonskins and hard cider barrels, with increased energy. They were rewarded by the election of "Old Tippecanoe and Tyler too;" but the State of Illinois gave Van Buren a majority of 1939, and Mr. Snyder was, of course, one of the successful Presidential Electors. By

his influence his friend, Mr. Koerner, was selected as messenger to convey the electoral vote of Illinois to Washington.

When in Baltimore in the spring of 1839, Mr. Snyder contracted with a manufacturing establishment there for a family carriage at the price of $500. In those days of infant industries the construction of a fine carriage was a slow and tedious process, as every part of it was shaped and finished by hand. Then its transportation by sailing vessel to New Orleans, thence up the Mississippi to St. Louis, consumed as much, or more, time than was required to manufacture it. Consequently winter had set in when the barouche arrived in Belleville, and it was housed up until spring. With return of pleasant weather and dry roads in 1840 the carriage was frequently in use by Mr. Snyder and members of his family for exercise thought to be beneficial to his health, as well as for pleasure.

One day in the height of the coon skin campaign as Mr. Snyder was engaged in a heated political discussion with Mr. James Mitchell, the Belleville postmaster, who was formerly a Jackson man, but then a proselyte to the Whig faith, Mr. Mitchell clinched his arguments by offering to bet $500 against Mr. Snyder's new carriage that Harrison would be elected President. The bet was immediately accepted. When the election returns were received, leaving no doubt of Van Buren's defeat, Mr. Snyder had his colored boy to dust the barouche and burnish its metal trimmings, then to deliver it, with his compliments, at Mr. Mitchell's residence. Seeing the lost wager off in good condition, he walked up to his office, cane in hand, as composedly as though nothing unusual had occurred. The younger members of his

family, however, were not so easily reconciled to their loss, and from that time on entertained but little affection for the winner of the bet. [Time brought their revenge. Mr. Mitchell served as Postmaster at Belleville continuously from 1831 to 1845, when he was superseded by William H. Snyder, eldest son of Adam W. Snyder, not then twenty years of age, who was appointed Postmaster by President Polk.]

Mr. Snyder had quite a fancy for fine horses, and generally kept three or four of the best he could buy. In the fall of 1839 he purchased or traded for a fine large carriage horse four years old of bright roan color, and then searched the country over for one to match him. At last he found an almost perfect match in size, color and age, and bought it. The stable on the premises was at the north end of a lane forty feet wide, extending across the block from First to Second North streets; the stable door, facing the south, was in two sections, the upper half usually kept open during the day and the lower half closed. The new horse proved to be unsophisticated and wanting in style for carriage service, so Mr. Snyder concluded to train him in the way he should go. With that object in view he had him brought from the stable one morning down to the stile near the house, and there he adjusted on him a "bitting" apparatus, consisting of surcingle, bridle and curb rein, that caused the animal to hold his head up and look aristocratic. When all was fixed to suit his ideas, Mr. Snyder turned the colt loose, and cracked his whip to start him off that he might see how he looked and moved. He was successful in starting him. The frightened horse dashed up the lane at full speed, and arriving at the stable leaped into it over the closed lower half of the

door, but the curbing rein so hampered his action that he fell, or alighted inside the stable on his head, and broke his neck. Seeing that he was dead, Mr. Snyder told the stable boy to haul him off into the woods, and made no further allusion to the incident.

By the national census taken in 1840 the population of Illinois was 476,183. So desperate was the financial affairs of the State that Gov. Carlin was forced to call the legislature to meet in extra session on the 23d of November, 1840, to devise means for paying interest on the State debt due the first day of January, 1841. The twelfth general assembly, elected in August, was Democratic, the Senate having 26 Democrats and 14 Whigs, and the House 51 Democrats and 40 Whigs, and met at Springfield on the appointed date. In the Senate, among others less known, were E. D. Baker, Richard M. Cullom, Wm. H. Davidson, Wm. J. Gatewood, John S. Hacker, Archer G. Herndon, John Moore, Wm. A. Richardson, James H. Ralston, Adam W. Snyder, W. B. Stapp, Henry Little, William Fithian and John D. Wood. In the House were Wm. H. Bissell, Milton Carpenter, Alfred W. Cavarly, John Dougherty, Cyrus Edwards, Wm. L. D. Ewing, Joseph Gillespie, Ashel Gridley, John J. Hardin, John Logan, Abraham Lincoln, John A. McClernand, Pierre Menard, Wm. A. Minshall, Ebenezer Peck, Lewis W. Ross, Lyman Trumbull and David A. Woodson.

Lieutenant Governor Stinton H. Anderson presided over the Senate. In organizing the House, William L. D. Ewing and Abraham Lincoln were again opposing candidates for the Speakership, and Ewing was elected Speaker—for the third time—by the vote of 46 to 36.

The message of Gov. Carlin to the legislature was

very different in tone from that of his first, delivered two years before. He commenced by saying: "While we have abundant cause to be devoutly thankful to an overruling Providence for the success that has everywhere attended industry—bountifully rewarding the husbandman for his labor—it is to be deeply deplored that our State is measureably overwhelmed with pecuniary embarrassments. These embarrassments have grown out of our system of internal improvements adopted by improvident legislation at a time when the delusive phantom of speculation seemed to have taken possession of the human mind, and led the world into extravagance and error; and however deeply we may regret the evil which this system has entailed upon us it would be unwise and unpatriotic to shrink from the responsibility of applying our best efforts to the pecuniary redemption of the State, and the preservation of her honor. The vast debt she has incurred must be paid, and this can only be done by a strict and rigid maintenance of her credit abroad and the wisdom with which the measures are directed at home."

In assignment of the Senate committees, Mr. Snyder, recognized as the Democratic leader in that body, was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and was also placed on the Committee on Counties, and the Penitentiary. The primal object of the extra session was to devise some expedient for meeting the January interest on the public debt, and, if possible, to adopt a plan for ultimately liquidating the entire debt and interest. Early in the session Mr. Pearson, of the Cook county district, offered a preamble and resolutions in the Senate to test the sentiment of members on the proposition to repudiate the entire debt contracted for internal im-

provements, as was boldly advocated by influential individuals and newspapers professing to speak for the Democratic party. On motion of Mr. Gatewood—who had left the Whigs and was then a Democrat—Mr. Pearson's resolutions were referred to the Judiciary Committee. Mr. Snyder, chairman of that committee, reported back the resolutions amended as follows: "Strike out all after the words, 'That it has been represented,' and add, that we consider all contracts made, in pursuance of laws, by our agents, when the consideration has been received , as valid and binding upon the people of the State of Illinois, and that common honesty, and the honor of the State, demand a strict and punctual fulfillment on our part, in every particular, of all obligations, as we shall expect and require the same of individuals or corporations with whom contracts may have been made." That report was adopted unanimously.

After such an unequivocal declaration, by both parties, it was to be expected that the lawmakers would proceed energetically and uninterruptedly to accomplish the business they were called together to transact. But, though united against repudiation, political questions were obtruded that fanned the smouldering embers of party rancor and jealousy into a blaze of feeling that retarded the much needed legislation. Members of both parties were irritable and ill-humored: the Democrats because of the Whig national triumph, and the Whigs because of Democratic success at every point in Illinois at the late elections. The first firebrand thrown into the legislative magazine was the appointment, by Gov. Carlin, of Stephen A. Douglas to the office of Secretary of State. Alexander Pope Field, the incumbent, was appointed to the office by Gov. Edwards in 1828,

and had held it continuously since. When appointed he was a Jackson man; but had since turned and joined the Whigs.

Gov. Carlin, as was just and proper, desiring his chief State officer to be in political harmony with himself, soon after his inauguration appointed John A. McClernand Secretary of State in Field's place. The question was thereupon raised, by the Whigs, of the Governor's power to appoint a Secretary of State, excepting when a vacancy occurred. In 1818, when writing the constitution for the new State, Elias K. Kane, assured that he would be appointed the first Secretary, inserted a clause in that instrument providing for appointment of the Secretary of State by the Governor, and the other State officers to be elective by the legislature. The Whigs having a majority in the Senate when Gov. Carlin assumed his office, refused to confirm his appointment of McClernand; but immediately after the legislature adjourned the Governor again appointed him. He demanded the office of Field, who refused to surrender it; whereupon he applied to the circuit court for a writ of *quo warranto.*

The case was tried before Judge Breese, who decided it in McClernand's favor. Field appealed to the supreme court, then comprising three Whigs and one Democrat, before whom the case was ably argued by Attorney General Wickliffe Kitchell, Stephen A. Douglas and James Shields for McClernand, and by Cyrus Walker, Justin Butterfield and Levi Davis for Field. The decision of the court below was reversed—Judges Lockwood and Wilson concurring in favor of reversal, Judge Smith dissenting and Judge Browne not voting because of his relationship to McClernand—and Field remained in possession of the office.

That obviously partisan decission of the Whig supreme court, tending to establish the doctrine of life-time offices, was very odious to the people and largely influenced the election of a Democratic legislature at the ensuing election.

Gov. Carlin made no further nomination for Secretary of State until the newly elected Democratic legislature convened in extra session. Then one of his first official acts was to send to the Senate his appointment of Stephen A. Douglas to replace Col. Field, and that nomination, on the seventh day of the called session, was promptly confirmed by the Democratic majority of the Senate. Though the constitution gave the Governor power to appoint the Secretary of State, and failed to specify any power to dismiss him, it was evidently not the intention of the framers of that instrument to make the office one of life tenure. Mr. Field, at last convinced of the correctness of that view, yielded his place to Mr. Douglas without hesitation or protest, and retired.

The Governor would perhaps have again appointed McClernand, but that gentleman, upon his rejection by the supreme court, appealed to the people of his country, and was vindicated by election to the lower house of the legislature, a position he prefered to that of Secretary.

John Alexander McClernand was born in Breckenridge county, Kentucky, on the 13th of May, 1812. When he was four year old his parents moved to a small farm in Illinois near Shawneetown. Four years later his father died, and he early commenced the struggle with poverty for self-support. His education was acquired in the subscription schools of Gallatin county, partly under the tuition of Wm. Jeff. Gatewood. At the age of sixteen he was splitting rails and plowing corn. The next

year he commenced the study of law, and three years later was admitted to the bar. Leaving his books he volunteered as a private soldier in the Black Hawk war, and was soon promoted to Gen'l Posey's staff. Returning to Shawneetown in the summer of 1832 with health impaired he engaged in flatboating on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers for the succeeding two years. His health restored he began the practice of law in Shawneetown and was successful. In 1835 he established the first newspaper ever published in Shawneetown.

He was elected to the lower house of the legislature in 1836, 1840 and 1842. In 1836 he was elected Canal Commissioner and Treasurer. In 1843 he was elected to Congress, and re-elected in 1845, 1847 and 1849. Declining a further re-election he removed from Shawneetown to Jacksonville, in which latter city he had been united in marriage, in 1843, to Miss Sarah, daughter of Col. Jas. Dunlap. He was Presidential Elector in 1840 and again in 1852. In 1856 he removed to Springfield; and in 1859 was elected to Congress to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of Thos. L. Harris. He was re-elected to Congress in 1861, and resigned in 1862 to enter the army of Union volunteers in the civil war, in which he rapidly rose to the rank of Major General. His brilliant military career is too well known to require extended notice in these pages.

In history the fame of Gen'l McClernand will rest chiefly upon his genius and achievements as a soldier, notwithstanding his high rank as lawyer and statesman. The martial spirit was his predominant trait. He was naturally a fighter, brave to rashness, with the will and force to command. Early in life he chose Gen'l Jackson as his model and guide. He fancied that he looked like

Jackson, and trained himself to talk and act like Jackson, to the extent of obscuring his natural individuality by life long personation of his ideal hero, whom he did in fact resemble in many particulars. Gen'l McClernand was always a Democrat, and for years a conspicuous leader in that party. He was strong and fearless in debate, an able politician and an eloquent speaker.

In 1870 he was elected circuit Judge; was President of the national Democratic convention in 1876, and was chosen a member of the Utah Commission in 1882. He died at his home in Springfield on the 20th of September, 1900, aged 88 years 4 months and 7 days.

Col. A. P. Field was a man of striking personal appearance. Six feet three inches tall, perfectly formed, with erect, soldierly bearing, and the polished manners of a born courtier. His otherwise handsome features were marred by a nodular, potato-like nose that disfigured him. He was a Kentuckian, a flowery speaker, and famous criminal lawyer. He was elected to represent Union county in the legislature in 1822, and was a leading supporter of the convention scheme to make Illinois a slave State in 1823-4. As a radical Jackson man he was re-elected to the legislature in 1826, and 1828. Gov. Edwards appointed him Secretary of State in 1828, and he became a Whig. Ousted from office by the Democrats in 1840, President Tyler appointed him Secretary of Wisconsin Territory in 1841. When Wisconsin was admitted into the Union, in 1847, he left it and located in St. Louis; but did not remain long, changing his residence to New Orleans, and was practicing law there when the civil war commenced in 1861. He was a union man, but fearing mob violence, he published a card intending to convey a denial of that fact. When New Or-

leans fell into Federal hands, Col. Field was a leader of the carpet baggers, and was elected to Congress in 1863. But his early pro-slavery antecedents and published card created a doubt of his loyalty, and he was not seated in the House. During the reconstruction era that followed the war he became Attorney General of Louisiana; and died in New Orleans in 1877, after a long and painful illness.

Another cause of friction between the parties in the legislature arose from suspension of specie payments by the State banks. The law of 1838 specified that when a bank suspended and did not resume its payment of specie before adjournment of the next following session of the legislature, its charter would be forfeited and its doors closed; provided its suspension was not sanctioned, and permitted to continue, by act of said legislative session. It was plainly evident that the banks could not resume specie payment before adjournment of the extra session; and the Whigs had good reasons to believe that the Democratic majority would not legalize their suspension. To gain time the Whigs contended that the called session and regular session were together but one session. The Democrats insisted that each was a distinct session. The salvation of the banks then apparently depended upon success of the Whig efforts to prevent *sine die* adjournment at the last day of the called session, Saturday, before commencement of the regular session, on the next Monday. Their hope to defeat adjournment was to absent themselves and thereby break the quorum necessary to carry the motion to adjourn. In the Senate, to guard against that maneuver of the Whigs, Mr. Snyder moved that "the lobbies be cleared, and that an officer be placed at the door of the Senate

to prevent egress of any Senator; and that the Sergeant-at-arms be authorized to employ a sufficient number of persons to bring the absent Senators to the Senate chamber," which was adopted. A similar resolution was passed in the House. In the Senate no effort was made to break the quorum; but it was tried in the House.

Messrs. Lincoln and Gillespie, members of the House, were selected to remain and call for the "ayes" and "noes." Before the vote was taken, however, several of the "weak-kneed" Whigs allowed themselves to be arrested by the Sergeant-at-arms and brought back into the hall. Fearing enough had returned to make a quorum, Lincoln and Gillespie delegated two of the late arrivals to demand call of the roll on the motion to adjourn *sine die* and concluded to absent themeselves. They found the doors of the church, in which their House was sitting, securely locked and that mode of egress barred; then raising one of the windows they jumped out. Their acrobatic feat, however, availed nothing, as enough Whigs were captured to constitute a quorum, and the extra session adjourned *sine die* on Saturday, Dec. 5th, 1840, having fritted away the time without passing any bill of importance.

The regular session began on Monday, Dec. 7th, and one of its first acts was to legalize suspension of the banks, and, further than that, to authorize them to issue notes of small denominations, a privilege before denied them. Times were too hard to compel the banks to close their doors and stop business merely to gratify party spite. That concession by the Democrats quieted all party animosity for the time and the members of both houses harmoniously and earnestly devoted them-

selves to the tough problem of extricating the State from its grave difficulties. To arrange for paying maturing interest, and save something from the wreck of suspended railroads, the following measures were adopted: first, the Fund Commissioner was directed to hypothecate $300,000 of internal revenue bonds for an amount sufficient to pay the interest *legally* due on Jan. 1st, 1841. Payment of interest on bonds sold on credit and not paid for was strongly contested, but finally left to the discretion of the Commissioner. And, *secondly*, interest bonds were authorized to be issued and sold in open market for what they might bring to pay interest on that portion of the public debt for which no funds were otherwise provided, and also to redeem the hypothecated bonds. On Feb. 27th, 1841, a bill was passed for the levy and collection of a tax of ten cents on the hundred dollars value of property, to be set apart exclusively as an "interest fund" to pay interest on last named bonds. The minimum assessment of all lands for taxation was fixed at $3 per acre, and an appropriation of $100,000 was made to complete that portion of the Northern Cross railroad from Jacksonville to Springfield, then almost finished.

The credit of the State had fallen so low that its bonds could not be sold in any market for any approximation of their face value. The January interest was paid, but having no funds in the treasury to meet the semi-annual July interest, John D. Whiteside, the Fund Commissioner, hypothecated to McAllister & Stebbins, brokers in New York City, 804 interest bearing internal improvement bonds of $1,000 each, for the loan of $321,600, of which amount but $261,460 was ever received. That transaction was prolific of much subsequent trouble and

great expense to the State, which never redeemed those hypothecated bonds, but in time purchased eighty of them, and three hundred and fifteen of the balance were subsequently received by the State from the Shawneetown bank in part redemption of its stock in that institution.

With best intentions for relief of the debt-burdened people, the legislature in February passed certain stay laws, providing that property sold under execution should not be sacrificed, but must bring two-thirds of its value appraised "as in ordinary times." But, as has invariably been the case with all similar laws, that measure reacted to the detriment of the class it was intended to benefit and only increased their hardships.

The financial embarrassments of the State and people having been temporarily bridged over by the legislature, the Democratic leaders in that body, figuratively, dug up the buried hatchet, and turned their attention to remedying political embarrassments gravely threatening their party supremacy. Of the four supreme court justices, Wilson, Browne and Lockwood were Whigs, and Theophilus W. Smith the only Democrat. Their decision in the *quo warranto* case of McClernand vs. Field plainly indicated what Democrats were to expect from that tribunal in future cases involving their party interests. There was then pending in the courts a case (supposedly) defining the right of suffrage, of vital importance to the Democratic party, of which they could not afford to risk an ultimate decision by the partisan supreme court as then constituted. Ninety per cent of all foreigners in Illinois voted the Democratic ticket, and to that element was due, in a great measure, the ascendency of the Democracy in the State.

The State Constitution thus specified the qualifications of voters: "In all elections, all male white inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the State six months next preceding the election, shall enjoy the right of an elector." The Whigs, desiring to exclude foreign voters from the polls, because they were Democrats, had long contended that the just construction to be put upon that clause of the constitution was that *citizens* only should be electors; though the practice had been, from the adoption of the constitution, in 1848, to permit *all* white men of age, if previously residents of the State for six months, to vote, whether citizens or aliens. The question was much discussed in 1839, when the strength of the Whig party was greatly augmented by large accessions of population in the northern counties, making it apparent that, with the alien voters eliminated, that party would carry the State at the next Presidential election. To disfranchise the Irish and "Dutch" Democrats before the elections of 1840 two Whigs at Galena arranged an agreed case in 1839—known as the "Galena alien case"—relying upon the Whig supreme court for a favorable decision. One of the Whigs sued the other who had served as an election judge, for $100 for use of the county, for having at an election held in 1838 received, in his official capacity, the vote of an alien. The case was tried before Judge Daniel Stone, a Whig, who decided for the plaintiff.

That decision caused great consternation among the Democrats, whose leaders, upon consultation, concluded that the final decision of that question by the higher (Whig) court, to which the defendant appealed, must by all means, be delayed until after the next Presidential election. The case was fully argued at the December,

1839, term of that court and, by sharp tactics of the Democratic managers, was continued to the next June term. They thus gained their first point, but the June term would be held at the height of the Presidential campaign, and a decision then by the Whig court would certainly give the State to Harrison in November. When it seemed the Democratic leaders were at the end of their resources, Justice Theophilus W. Smith, the Democratic judge on the supreme court bench, who had for a long time aspired to a seat in the United States Senate, came to the rescue of his party. He had discovered a defect in the record of the case of one figure, and, in confidence, pointed it out to one of the defendant's Democratic lawyers. When the case was called in June, the attorney, posted by Judge Smith, entered a motion to dismiss, for the reason that in the record the cause of complaint was stated to have occurred on the 6th day of August, 1839 (instead of 1838), at which date no such election was held as therein alleged. Thus another important point was gained by the Democrats; as leave to amend would necessarily carry the case over, beyond the State and national elections, to the December term, 1840.

By the December term of the supreme court the Democratic lawyers had discovered that the constitutional question the case was expected to decide was not before the court at all, the appeal having been taken simply upon that provision of the election law of 1829 thus stated: "If any judge of election shall knowingly admit any person to vote, not qualified according to law, he shall forfeit and pay to the county the sum of one hundred dollars; and any person presenting himself to vote, and his qualifications be suspected, he shall swear that

he is a resident of the county, has resided in the State six months next preceding the election; is twenty-one years old, and has not before voted at that election." As no infraction of that law was proven the supreme court decided that the court below erred, reversed its judgment, and dismissed the case.

Apprehensive that the Whigs would again attempt to raise the question of constitutional qualifications of voters, and unwilling to submit its final decision to three Whig justices, the Democratic leaders in the legislature determined upon the expedient of reforming the judiciary system, and thereby change the political complexion of the supreme court. The four justices of that court were appointed for life, and consequently could not be ousted excepting by impeachment, or change of the constitution. Since 1835 the legislature had, from time to time, increased the number of judicial districts until in 1841 there were nine, with a circuit judge presiding over each. The bold—and revolutionary—plan adopted by the Democrats was to legislate the nine circuit judges out of office, and increase the number of supreme court justices to nine, requiring them to hold circuit courts as formerly. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, 1840, Mr. Snyder, chairman of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, reported a bill for an Act to "reorganize the judiciary," embracing the "reforms" stated, and spoke for nearly an hour in support of the measure, as follows:

The Senate having resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. Snyder, Senator from St. Clair county, said:

"It will doubtless be expected from me, as the mover of this bill, to explain to this Committee the grounds on which I am prepared to sustain it, and the reasons which have led me to introduce it.

In undertaking to do this I regret extremely that my present indisposition is such as to prevent me from doing that justice to the subject which its importance so amply deserves. I will, therefore, for the present, content myself with simply presenting to the Senate the views which, after long and mature reflection, I have been led to adopt, intending afterwards, when other members of this honorable body shall have presented *their* views and objections, to go more at length into the subject in my reply. It will afford me great pleasure to hear the sentiments of those gentlemen who may differ from me as to the policy and propriety of this measure. It is far from being my wish or desire to hurry a measure of this importance through the Senate. It stands on too high ground to have anything to apprehend from the most piercing and searching investigation. I want such an inquiry. I invite the most rigorous examination of the subject. I wish the measure to come from our body as perfect as, in the nature of human affairs, is possible.

"The bill, as it will be perceived, is simple in its provisions, and free from all complexity in its principles, or in its details. It proposes, first, to repeal the present circuit court system, and, instead of maintaining the present numerous body of circuit judges, to appoint only five other justices in addition to the present number of supreme court justices. It further proposes to impose circuit court duties upon all those justices, and to unite the whole body of judges into one judicial body to constitute the supreme court of the State.

"Before I proceed to explain to the Senate the advantages which are expected to be gained by this simple plan of organization, as proposed by the bill, it will perhaps be well to make some remarks on our present system, and to point out some of its most glaring defects, by which the necessity of a new organization may be more fully impressed on the mind; after which I propose to show in what manner the defects pointed out will be fully met and remedied by the measure of this bill.

"The great end and object of every judicial system in every state and country is, to have a wise, sound and equal system of laws, and to have a judiciary arrangement to execute those laws well; to expound them uniformly throughout the State; to act upon the same rules and system, so that one mind and one spirit may pervade the whole administration of laws from one extremity of the State to the other. Another important object desirable to be

attained in the administration of the laws is such a system that individuals who are employed as agents in their exposition should be connected with the people, and become practically conversant with their wants, their feelings and their customs, that they should act in concert, and be acquainted with the decisions made, and rules adopted in every circuit court in the State. By which means alone the judges themselves can be rendered experienced and able in the discharge of their duties, and such a uniformity of system pervade the country as will tend to give certainty to the laws, and satisfaction to litigants, and render justice to the people at large. This cannot be arrived at where the judges are separated and distinct from the people, and from one another, and where they are not constantly thrown into a situation calculated to give them knowledge and experience which is to be obtained by no other means than constant and habitual practice in all the several courts. Another, and perhaps a minor consideration is, that the system should be carried on with as much economy as is compatible with its due perfection.

"Now, Sir, no gentleman here, I am sure, will contend with me that these objects are obtained, or—in the nature of things—can be attained, under our present system. The system is disjointed, unconnected and inharmonious, and the consequence that follows is, our laws are interpreted differently in different parts of the State; our judges arrive at decisions diametrically the reverse, one to the other; our people do not know certainly what is the law; or, rather, what is the interpretation which will be given to the law. And when at last a final resort is had to that court where most we should look for certainty, uniformity and unerring decision, there all the evils which belong to the disunited system in its several branches, instead of meeting with a remedy, are only aggravated and increased, till, at last, our whole legal administration becomes a mass of discord and confusion, creating just dissatisfaction among the people; and calculated to do us discredit abroad. Let it not be imagined that I exaggerate those evils. They are not of so light a nature as some may be inclined to represent.

"What, Sir, can be more disastrous to a people than to live under a system of laws where doubt and uncertainty hang over the decisions of the courts? Where that which is law in one part of the country is not law in another part? Where what is right at the north is wrong at the south portion of the country? Can

a system operating in that manner, as it undeniably does with us under the existing system, meet with support and countenance from any man who ventures to consider himself a patriot—a lover of his country? Can anyone hesitate to acknowledge that the time has arrived when these evils are felt throughout the land, and when they ought to be remedied? Permit me, Sir, to illustrate the point I have assumed by an instance familiar enough to every gentleman who is at all acquainted with the practice so frequently occurring in our supreme court as it is at present organized. A circuit judge decides a cause which is carried by appeal to the supreme court. Some important point of law is involved in this cause which is of importance to the country and should be permanently fixed and decided. The supreme court divides equally on the question, and the consequence is the decision of the circuit judge is sustained. Well, Sir, the supreme court has by that decision decided what is the law of the land, and it is published to the world, and is recorded in the judicial records as the decision of the court of last resort. Now, Sir, let me ask, is it to be tolerated in this or any other country, that a solemn decision of a great and important question of law once made in the supreme court of the State shall perhaps at the very next session of that court be changed, altered and reversed, and a totally contrary decision be given, thereby shaking to its foundation the whole edifice of our laws, and spreading doubt, indecision and uncertainty throughout the land? Yet, Sir, such is the case; such is the lamentable fact; such is the deplorable vacillation of our present system! The very point which has been decided affirmatively in the supreme court, as I have shown, is again brought up from another circuit where the judge has made a different decision, the court is again equally divided, and the circuit judge's decision is sustained in the contrary sense, as that which was law before is now, by the very same court, pronounced not to be law; and the supreme court itself becomes the reverser of its own decision, and a disturber of the surety and stability of the laws! Is this to be tolerated? Is this doing justice to the people? Is it becoming in us as legislators to suffer such a system to prevail? Is it not time, Sir, to change, to amend, to reform a system so perverse, so contradictory, so absurd as this? I need not amplify my remarks on this subject. The facts are before us all. They are too well known to be disputed, or their deplorable effects to

be denied. There is no concert in our courts; there is no harmony or union among our judges. Our supreme court is dissevered from the people, and from the practice of the circuit courts, and the effects are discordant decisions, uncertain laws, and unequal distribution of justice throughout the State; general incertitude among lawyers and people as to the supreme law of the land, and a general discordance and dissatisfaction among the people. This, Sir, is not the fault of our laws; it is the fault of our present system. Do we not, almost every day, in the hall of our legislature meet with evident proofs of the defect of our system? Are not the people driven here to seek for an interpretation of our laws? We take up the case in committee, and examine and enquire into it. We find that the law is plain, is fixed, is certain, is intelligible. We then decide that no alteration is required; that no new interpretation is necessary; but what do we learn from gentlemen on this floor? Why, Sir, that one judge in one circuit has decided the law one way; another judge in another circuit has decided it in another and different way, and the supreme court again has decided it in still another way. Is it doing justice to the people to permit such anomalies? Are we performing our duties as legislators, as patriots, as men, if we refuse to unite our efforts to reform this blot; to purify this Augean stable of its odious contrarieties, and its final contradictions? Again, Sir, who can pretend to say that, under our present system, we are in the enjoyment of equal laws, and a fair, just and uniform administration of justice? Do not all our courts in all our circuits differ in their order, in their rules, in their practice, and in their decisions from one another? Is it not almost like passing from one foreign country to another; from one system of laws to another totally different when we pass from one circuit of our State to another? Every legal gentleman who hears me will respond affirmatively to the truth of what I say. No man can deny the existence of the evils under which we suffer, and surely no man should refuse to aid in their remedy. Now, Sir, the bill before the Senate is intended to remedy these evils, and I will proceed to explain its details as briefly as possible, in order to make it plain that it will effectually remedy them.

"All the difficulties I have pointed out will be remedied by the measure now before you. There will be only nine judges instead of a large body of circuit judges and the other judges of the su-

preme court. These nine judges will virtually constituute the supreme court, and they will be, separately, the circuit judges in the several circuits, performing all circuit duties throughout the State. It will be one united body; one consistent system without distraction and disconnection. They will separate to perform their circuit duties, and will meet together once, or twice, each year to compare notes; to harmonize their action, and combine their several decisions. They will act in concert, and be guided by the same rules in their several circuits. Thus, uniform decisions will be made throughout the State; justice will be administered in all the courts in harmony, order and equality such as is unknown in our present system. Justice will then be administered by one united body; coherent, and meeting periodically together to decide the different and new points of law which, in a country like ours, are daily arising, and for which no precedents can be found.

"One great and important result flowing from the system proposed by this bill, namely, uniting all the circuit judges to form in one body the supreme court of the State, will be this: that it will prevent litigation to a greater extent than the present system is capable of doing; one of the greatest evils of which is that litigation is fostered by the uncertainty of the decisions and incoherency of action of the judges. There will be fewer appeals, because there will be more certitude and more confidence in the decisions rendered on the several circuits by judges who belong to the supreme court, and who carry with them into every circuit a knowledge of the last and latest decision of the supreme court. Thus, great delay, much expense, and endless perplexity and confusion will be spared to the people.

"Again, Sir, the supreme judges engaged in performing circuit duties, daily administering the laws, giving construction to the statutes, and deciding the moral points of law which arise in practice, will not, as now, under our present system, be rusting in idleness at home, ignorant of what is going on in the circuits. Their minds will be more sharpened, their faculties more called forth into action. They will serve their country better and obtain the respect and confidence of their fellow-citizens by their greater experience and more practical knowledge. If time would permit, I might refer to other countries to show that no such sys-

tem as ours has ever prevailed, or been adopted in any civilized country. I might point to the example of England, the parent of our common law, and the source of our legal knowledge, to show that the wisdom and learning of her great judges, and of the writers of jurisprudence, have been obtained by a system the same as this bill proposes. Her judges do not pass their days in supine indifference and inactivity at the seat of government, deciding once a year cases of which they know nothing, from counties of whose people, their customs and their habits, they are ignorant. No, Sir; they perform the laborious duties of itinerant circuit judges, and meet together in one body to decide great questions which arise on the circuits, where each one is able to communicate his experience to the others, and combine to produce a stability and uniformity in the administration of justice, which cannot be obtained under any other system. They have no sinecure judges; no supine supreme courts, such as we have; but the very men who have been in the constant occupation of dispensing justice in the remote counties, and those whose united experience and wisdom, called forth by labor, practice and experience, forms, as it were, the supreme court, or the twelve justices of the realm. But, I will not rely upon examples drawn from countries for which our republican souls have no great affinity. I will satisfy myself, and perhaps those who hear me, better by turning to an example nearer home. What, Sir, is the system of our Federal judiciary? Do we keep at Washington City a number of men not conversant with the country; not exercised in the administration of the laws? Or only called upon once or twice a year to decide cases which their dormant position renders them almost incapable of judging correctly? Do we withdraw them from the busy scenes of legal life, and thus incapacitate them for the business which requires all the powers and keenness of human ingenuity and judgment? No, Sir! They are thrown upon the circuits and districts to gather wisdom and experience by constant practice, and having been reared among the people, attending to their duties in distant parts of the country, in many and different courts, they afterwards meet together to form that august tribunal whose decisions in consequence of that organization have gained the respect and admiration of the country. Such, Sir, is our Federal system, and such is the basis of the system which this bill proposes for adoption. The condition of the country imperatively calls upon us

for a reform in the administration of our laws. The people demand it. Justice requires it, and surely we will not be found backward in promoting this great and necessary reform. There is a difficulty which often stands in the way of great and useful undertakings and prevents, or, at least, retards for a long time, their accomplishment. I mean their expense. In the present situation of our State if this obstacle stood in front of the present measure I should hesitate in bringing it forward. But, Sir, the value of this bill recommends itself to our support by its economy, while it is, from the reasons I have already advanced, superior to the present system, it will be, at the same time, far less expensive. If it had no other merit than this it might well indeed be objected to, but in consideration of the many other superior advantages it possesses, I may, also, be permitted to mention this one. The present system costs, annually, $15,000; the proposed reorganization will cost, for nine supreme justices, $13,500, showing a saving to the State of $1,500. Should an additional circuit be formed—and I am given to understand it may be necessary—still an additional supreme judge would not increase the present cost of the judiciary system. This is no sudden project with me; it is the result of long observation and mature reflection. When our present circuit court system was adopted I was a member of the Senate, and opposed the measure. I may say I plainly foresaw its evils, and disadvantages. Experience has fully justified me in the course I then adopted. The sense of the people is with me in the view I have taken of its evils, and therefore, as the fruit of long reflection and thought upon the subject, believing it to be imperatively called for by the wants of the people, I have brought forward this measure and for the sake of the country, for the honor and credit of our State and its law, I fervently desire that it may pass. I know it has been objected that in process of time more circuits will be necessary and additional judges will be required. I see no force in this objection. It is a question of expense, and the objection applies to the present system more strongly than it does to the measure of this bill. For when our population is increased, and the business, trade and commerce of our State multiplied, will any one venture to say we can go on with our present plan?

"We must create more circuits and make additional judges, and as the present system has been shown to be more costly than the

measure proposed, so, also, in a condition of more advanced prosperity, when the cost of either plan would be increased, still our present plan, if continued, would be more expensive to us than this measure would be even if it was extended and enlarged. Under every point of view, therefore, in which this subject is considered, the advantages preponderate in favor of this measure. If we continue our present system till we arrive to double our present wealth and population we will then require at least twenty-four judges on our present plan, so defective is it even at the present day in supplying the wants and coming up to the conditions of the country. Should the number of nine judges not be found adequate to accomplish all the objects required in the administration of justice, I propose to bring forward a measure by which the business of the circuits will be greatly reduced and diminished. By which in each county lesser circuits of more frequent sessions will administer justice to the people both more frequently and more cheaply. Into the minor details of this measure it will, however, not be necessary for me to enter. This much I have thought proper to say at present to the public as the reasons which have induced me to propose the measure of this bill. When it shall have undergone further discussion, and other and abler reasons shall have been given by its friends in the Senate in its favor, I have the fullest confidence that its superior merits and advantages will secure its adoption."

The bill met strenuous opposition from all the Whig members, and passive objections from the few Democrats whom Justice Smith could influence; or who were reluctant to favor the "reforms" because of their personal friendship, or sympathy, for the ousted circuit judges.

It was discussed in both houses for several weeks, and by the newspapers throughout the State, and denounced in unstinted terms by all the Whigs and their organs. In the meantime every art of coercion and cajoling was practiced by the Democratic leaders in the legislature to overcome the hesitancy of their timid colleagues and nerve them up to its support. At length the

bill passed both houses and was promptly vetoed by the supreme court justices, acting, with the Governor, as the Council of Revision. On the 11th of February, 1841, the bill was re-enacted over the veto by a large majority in the Senate and a bare majority of one over the number required by the constitution in the House. The legislature then completed the "reform of the judiciary," by electing, in joint session, by a strict party vote, the following Democrats for the five additional supreme court judgeships authorized by the new law: Samuel H. Treat, Walter B. Scates, Sidney Breese, Stephen A. Douglas and Thomas Ford.

And it must be admitted—to the credit of the party managers—that five abler men for the bench could not have been selected in Illinois from either party at that time. Upon the elevation of Mr. Douglas to the supreme bench he resigned the office of Secretary of State, and Gov. Carlin appointed Lyman Trumbull as his successor. The reorganization of the judiciary by the Democrats was such a highhanded partisan measure for partisan purposes that it shocked the people, and was unsparingly condemned by all the Whigs and many conservative Democrats, as an outrageous and inexcusable abuse of power. But legislation of that order has since been so commonly practiced by all parties in power that it now excites no surprise and but little comment.

Sidney Breese had the same inordinate desire for office and distinction that afflicted Gov. Reynolds, but was wholly wanting in the art of winning the people to his support that Reynolds possessed to such a remarkable degree. He managed, however, to hold office almost continuously during all his residence in Illinois, generally by appointment, or vote of the legislature, being usual-

ly rejected by the people at the polls. Defeated formerly for representative in the lower house of the legislature, he was finally elected to that position in 1851—his first success by popular vote—and was, at that session, chosen Speaker of the House. By popular vote he was elected circuit judge in 1855, and elevated to the supreme bench in 1857, and was retained in that position—for which he was so eminently fitted—by re-elections in 1861 and 1870—until his death, that occurred at Pinckneyville, Ill., on the 27th of June, 1878.

Judge Breese was born in Whiteboro, Oneida county, New York, on the 15th of July, 1800, and graduated at Union College when only eighteen years of age. By advice of Elias K. Kane, who knew him at college, he came to Illinois, arriving at Kaskaskia on the 24th of December, 1818, and was at once installed, by Mr. Kane, in the office of Secretary of State as his chief clerk.

He studied law with Mr. Kane and was admitted to the bar in 1820. In 1821 he secured his first office, that of postmaster at Kaskaskia. In 1822 he was appointed State's Attorney. On Sept. 17th, 1823, he was married to Miss Eliza, daughter of Wm. Morrison. In 1827, then an ultra Adams man, he was appointed U. S. District Attorney and was promptly turned out of office in 1829 by President Jackson. He then turned to be a Jackson man and ran for Congress but was defeated.

In the Black Hawk campaign of 1832 he enlisted as a private in Capt. Feaman's company, and upon organization of the third regiment was promoted to the rank of Major, and was subsequently made Lieut. Colonel to supply that place made vacant by resignation of Lieut. Col. Theophilus W. Smith, promoted to Judge Advocate General. In 1835 he was elected circuit judge by the

legislature, and that year left Kaskaskia to locate on a farm in the suburbs of Carlyle in Clinton county. In 1841 he was elected supreme judge by the legislature, and in 1842 was elected, by joint ballot of the legislature, on the 9th of December, U. S. Senator, receiving 56 votes to 52 cast for Stephen A. Douglas and 3 for Jno. A. McC'ernand,—a marked instance of "luck;" or fortuitous reward for life-long persistency in office seeking. In the sphere of political aspirations he was early impressed by the lesson learned by the Bruce from the spider in his prison, i. e., "if once you fail try, try again." In 1849 he was defeated for re-election to the Senate by Gen'l Shields.

His passion for public life was such that he would at any time have gladly resigned his judgeship for a political office, though not its equal in honor or salary. Though preeminent as a judge he signally failed as a practicing lawyer, not from want of learning, but by reason of utter deficiency in tact and practical sense. He was a Captain in the militia before his marriage, but as a soldier was ludicrously out of place; very near sighted, clumsy, awkward and an arrant coward, with no taste, aptitude or talent whatever for the military art. In the Black Hawk campaign he soon tired of service, and obtaining leave of absence, left the army and returned to his home, with Gov. Reynolds and staff, by way of Galena and the Mississippi river.

He was by no means an eloquent speaker, but a scholarly and forcible writer. His newspaper editorials and correspondence, his supreme court reports from 1819 to 1830, his own decisions when supreme court justice, and his other public papers, mark well his profound learning and highly cultured mind. A life-long,

diligent student, well versed in English, Latin and French, also in law, literature and science, he was a statesman as well as jurist of the highest order. Short and dumpy in figure, with large, round head and florid face, his natural dignity and reserved manners gave him, on the bench and in the Senate, a commanding presence commensurate with his great intellectual abilities.

As a public official he was absolutely honorable and incorruptible. When with his own circle of genial associates he was charmingly social and affable; was fond of dancing and of the society of ladies, but had no affinity with the common people; was mean and narrow in his resentments, and jealous and envious of his competitors. He was not a moneymaker; ignorant of practical details of business beyond drawing his salary; was neither charitable or benevolent, and extremely selfish.

His public labors will ever remain a splendid monument to his genius, and "his opinions will live as long as the jurisdiction of this State shall exist."*

The stand taken by Mr. Snyder in Congress for reforming or abolishing the National Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., was unequivocally endorsed by the Illinois legislature in the unanimous adoption of the following preamble and resolutions presented on Feb. 6th, 1841, by Senator Braxton Parish:

"Whereas, It is one of the principles of a free government to impose no unnecessary taxes and burdens upon the people, and

"Whereas, The West Point Academy was established as a nursery for the military genius of our American youth, thereby furnishing our army with skillful officers, and giving that order of talent a proper direction; and

* Hon. E. B. Washburne.

"WHEREAS, ALSO, The history of that institution, for more than twenty years past, has demonstrated the fact that it has failed in the objects of its creation, having never yet furnished the army a skillful officer of ability, but, on the contrary, has been the hotbed of favoritism and aristocracy; and officers from that institution have, on a late occasion, during our Seminole hostilities, shamefully resigned at a time their country expected of them bravery and patriotism; thus proving that there is an inherent defect, as well in the selection, as education, of youths there; therefore, be it

"*Resolved by the General Assembly*, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their endeavors to reform the abuses, not only in the selection of candidates to be educated there at the public expense, but in the education itself; and in case both these evils cannot be removed, to vote against any more appropriations of money for said institution.

"*Resolved*, That the Governor transmit a copy of these resolutions to each member of our delegation in Congress."

Mr. Churchill moved to amend said preamble and resolutions by striking out the preamble and all after the resolving clause, and insert the following, viz:

"That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to endeavor to procure the abolition of the Military Academy at West Point." The amendment was lost.

While members of the two opposing parties in the twelfth general assembly were fiercely contending for and against the conspiracy of the Democrats to reorganize the courts in the interest of their party, they all

tacitly united in enacting measures much less excusable and far more nefarious.

About the close of 1838 the Mormons driven from Clay county, Missouri, by the citizens of that state, fled to Illinois for protection and safety, and settled in and around a small town called Commerce, on the Mississippi river, in Hancock county. They at once converted the squalid village into a city which they named Nauvoo, or the city of beauty. They rapidly gained accessions to their numbers, and as all males twenty-one years of age after residing in the State six months were entitled to vote, they not only dominated that county politically, but held the balance of power in the Congressional district and were a factor to be seriously considered in the State elections. They had been expelled from Missouri by Democrats for whom they had voted, and were treated with contempt by Van Buren, the Democratic President to whom they appealed for relief and redress.

At that juncture Col. John T. Stuart, a Whig representative in Congress from Illinois—whose constituents they were,—and Henry Clay, the great Whig U. S. Senator, championed their cause in Congress and loudly denounced the Democracy for persecuting them because of their religious belief. On locating in Illinois, in gratitude they renounced their allegiance to the Democratic party and affiliated with their friends, the Whigs.

In 1840 they voted solidly for Harrison, for Col. John T. Stuart for Congress, and the balance of the Whig ticket. The Democratic leaders in the legislature—of whom Adam W. Snyder was one of the most prominent—saw the great advantage to be gained by conciliating that strange sect, who on all political questions voted as a unit, and, if possible, winning them back to the

Democratic fold. The Whigs, of course, fully appreciated the value of their new recruits and were very desirous to retain them. The Mormons cared nothing for the principles or policies of either party. They were mercenaries, willing to barter their votes for increased privileges and power to the highest bidder. The bid of both parties for the Mormon vote was the sacrifice of self-respect, justice and honor.

Early in the extra session, Nov. 27th, 1840, Mr. Little, Whig Senator from Hancock county, introduced a bill for an "Act to incorporate the City of Nauvoo," in his county. Under that innocent-sounding title the bill granted to the mayor and municipal government of Nauvoo, nine-tenths of whose population were Mormons, the most extraordinary powers. It was a charter of incorporation, conferring upon Jo. Smith, who was mayor of Nauvoo and head of the Mormon church, and his city council, power to organize their own courts and militia —in a word, to establish a government of their own independent of State laws, and in conflict with the State's constitution. Mr. Little, when introducing the bill, offered no explanation whatever of its provisions. On motion of William A. Richardson, Democrat Senator representing Brown and Schuyler counties, the rules of the Senate were dispensed with, the bill read a second time by its title only, and then, on motion of Mr. Little, it was referred to the Judiciary Committee, of which he was a member.

On Dec. 5th, Mr. Snyder, Chairman of that committee, "reported the same back with an amendment, which was concurred in, and the bill was ordered engrossed, as amended, for a third reading." It, and other engrossed bills, were not again called up in either house before ad-

journment of the extra session. On the first day of the regular session, Dec. 7th, 1840, Mr. Snyder moved adoption of the following resoution: "*Resolved by the Senate, etc.,* That the unfinished business of the first session of the twelfth general assembly be taken from the files of said session and placed on the files of the present session; and that the said unfinished business have the same order in the present session, and be proceeded with in the same manner as it would be if the same had originated at the present session." An amendment was offered by Senator E. D. Baker, placing the unfinished business of the extra session of 1839-'40 in the same category, which was promptly defeated, and Mr. Snyder's resolution, as introduced, adopted. The same resolution was adopted in the House, and then the bill to "Incorporate the City of Nauvoo" was passed by both houses, without discussion or roll call, and without a negative vote in either house. It was immediatey sent to the Council of Revision, comprising the Democrat Governor, three Whigs and one Democrat, justices of the supreme court, who, within three days, approved it.

On the 14th of December, 1840, Mr. Little presented another bill for an Act "to incorporate a Church at Nauvoo," another infamous measure which, by suspension of the rules, was, without discussion, protest, or objection, passed by the Senate to third reading on the 17th, whereupon Mr. Little moved to amend the title of the bill so that it would read, "An Act for the appointment of a notary public in the city of Nauvoo," which was agreed to, and the bill was passed without roll call or a dissenting voice. Both of Mr. Little's "Mormon Charters" were also passed by the House unanimously, as in the Senate, without call of the roll, as no member of

either party was willing to put himself or record as supporting them. The second "charter" was approved by the Council of Revision without hesitation, as was the first. A third charter was also passed in the same manner. The active managers in securing passage of the Mormon charters by the legislature were Senator Little, and Stephen A. Douglas, then Secretary of State.

Mr. Douglas was also particularly active and efficient as a lobbyist, in passing the revolutionary measure for reforming the courts, and accepted one of the new supreme court judgeships it created.

In 1837, he was one of the prime movers of, and the first to introduce in the legislature, the internal improvement scheme that caused the State to totter on the verge of bankruptcy. In after years, when a United States Senator, he effected the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, invented "Squatter Sovereignty," wrecked the Democratic party, and thereby was instrumental, more than any other one person in the country, in precipitating civil war. Mr. Douglas' towering intellect and impressive eloquence had, in 1840, already placed him in the front ranks of Illinois politicians, and presaged his future brilliant career. The power of his great mind influenced State legislation, as it afterwards swayed the councils of the nation. His public services, extending over a period of the quarter of a century, though not exempt from grave mistakes, were certainly of great value to the State and country at large. In history he justly occupies a high place on the roll of celebrated statesmen; but was the most consummate demagogue of the age in which he lived—William E. Gladstone, perhaps, excepted.

CHAPTER XVI.

The twelfth General Assembly—Letters of Mr. Snyder to Gov. Koerner —General Bankruptcy Law passed by Congress—Hard Times in Illinois in 1841—Repudiationists and opposers of the Canal—Availability of Mr. Snyder for nomination as a Candidate for Governor—Gov. Reynolds and his friends favor him—Mr. Snyder's views on public questions.

On the 16th of December, 1840, the two houses of the twelfth general assembly met in joint session to elect a Senator in Congress to succeed Hon. John M. Robinson, and Samuel McRoberts was elected, receiving 77 votes, Cyrus Edwards 50, and E. D. Baker 1.

The Senator elected, Samuel McRoberts, enjoyed the distinction of being the first native of Illinois chosen* to that position. He was born in Monroe county, Illinois, on the 20th of February, 1799. From the country schools of his neighborhood he went to Lexington, Kentucky, and entered Transylvania University, and there held high rank in the classical and law departments, in which he graduated in 1819. Returning to Illinois he was elected judge of the circuit court, and held that office until elected to the State Senate in 1828. He was later appointed U. S. District Attorney, by President Jackson, and resigned that office to accept, from President Van Buren, the position of receiver of the land office at Danville. On final settlement of his accounts when retiring from office the government was found to be in his debt to the amount of $1.65, for which he received a treasury warrant. He was next appointed, by President Van Buren, in 1839, Solicitor of the General Land Office at Washington, which he resigned in the

* Gen'l John A. Logan and Hon. Albert J. Hopkins are the only two natives of Illinois since elected to represent the State in the United States Senate.

GUSTAVUS KOERNER.

fall of 1841. He died at Cincinnati, Ohio, March 27th, 1843, of pneumonia contracted on the Alleghany mountains on his return home.

On the 18th of December the legislature elected Josiah Lamborn, a Democrat, Attorney General, by casting for him 75 votes, to 45 for David Woodson, a Whig, and two for Richard Yates, another Whig. It also reapportioned the State in accordance with the census of 1840, increasing the representation to 41 senators and 121 representatives.

The proceedings of the twelfth general assembly were marred by unusual turbulence, and illy-suppressed bitterness of feeling between the opposing parties engendered by the late fierce political contest through which they had passed. Adam W. Snyder, the recognized leader of the Democratic party in the legislature, always at his post, answered to every roll call, and entered zealously in every debate. From the Senate Chamber he wrote to Mr. Koerner, on Feb. 6th, 1841, as follows:

"DEAR SIR: I was much pleased to receive your letter informing me of your safe return home, in good health, and with the additional satisfaction of finding your little family well.* My health has improved some; but, at best, is bad.

"The inferior court bill, which I have not yet introduced; but will next week, you seem to entirely misunderstand. It proposes to appoint, by the legislature, a judge in each county to be called the judge of the county court, and gives him all the probate jurisdiction (exclusively). Second, it gives him jurisdiction in all actions *ex contractu* to the amount, say, of $250, trover and conversion, trespass on personal property, replevin, *qui tam* actions on penal official bonds, and appeals from justices of the peace. To be his own clerk, have a jury, hold four terms of court each year, keep a record, fee book and execution and judgment book. Appeals from his court to the supreme court. From the little

* Mr. Koerner had taken the electoral vote of Illinois to Washington City.

time remaining of the session I doubt if it can pass. I cannot introduce it because the Council of Revision yet have the judiciary (reform) bill, and will probably return it with objections. It is doubtful whether we can pass it in the House (over their veto) with the constitutional majority as we passed it before with but one vote majority. Many of our Democrats are, as usual, used up by the opposition, some by promises of land offices, others by different inducements. Today the *on dit* is that the bill will not be returned. We will, however, know on Monday or Tuesday, and I will write you so soon as it passes.

"You can form but little idea of the excitement it has caused. It is the lion measure of the session. I succeeded in carrying it through the Senate after an animated discussion of two days, with every Whig and four Democrats voting against it. I was in the House when the grand fight on it took place. Buying up and buying back was the order, and is yet. Not a Whig voted for it in either house.

"The new apportionment will bring into the next legislature 120 members of the House. St. Clair county will have three as now, and St. Clair and Madison together a fourth. Monroe and Randolph to have a Senator. I opposed this enormous increase; but in vain.

"I presume we will adjourn on the first of next month—not before. I think Mr. Shields will attend the Court; at least he told me he would. He will bring Charley Mount up here, and afterwards quit practice in your circuit. I doubted the propriety of his running for office (State Auditor), but he was determined, and then I did all I could for him, and successfully."

Writing again on the 8th of February, Mr. Snyder said:

"The judiciary (reform) bill was yesterday returned to the Senate, where it originated, the three Whig judges (of the supreme court) objecting to the expediency of the measure, and Smith to the constitutionality of the act. After a most exciting session of six or eight hours we passed it again through the Senate by the vote of 23 to 16, there being one of the Whig Senators absent. I fear much its fate in the House. The Whigs have bought up and intimidated six of our Democrats which gives them a majority. The constitution requires each house to cast a ma-

jority vote of all the members elected to it in order to pass a measure over the veto of the Council of Revision. The most intense excitement prevails here in regard to the fate of the bill. The Whigs and the judges of the supreme court, together with the bank, are moving heaven and earth to defeat it. How frequently the people are deceived by their representatives whom they elected upon their professions of interest in public affairs, and loyalty to their party. The representatives here who are thus misrepresenting their constituents are from the strongest Democratic counties, with but one exception. They are, Able of Alexander, Hicks of Jefferson, Leary of Cook and Bussey of Champaign. Unless we can secure one of these four the bill cannot be passed, and that is now despaired of by our friends.

"Breese has adjourned his court, waiting for the passage of the bill in expectation, I suppose, of being elected one of the supreme judges. Scates is here, also Ford, all waiting the tide of their elevation.

"We have various projects for raising State revenue. One is a tax of thirty cents on the hundred dollars' worth of property—all the land tax to go to the State, and the counties not to be permitted to levy over thirty cents on the hundred for county purposes. Also, to tax each deed recorded for the transfer of land or other property, fifty cents. Tax each lawyer and physician $10 a year for the permission to practice. Tax the Governor, Secretary of State, Auditor and Attorney General $20 annually each, Justices of the Peace and Constables, $2 each; militia officers, $1 each, and all others in proportion. It is proposed to tax merchants likewise, and peddlers for license; which it is expected will produce altogether about $380,000 a year.

"Breese left here without paying the ten dollars you left me an order for. My wife has written me that she will need some money before I return. Will you please hand her ten dollars. I would not ask this, but I have scarcely money enough with me here to pay postage. Auditor's warrants, since the Bank refuses to cash them, are far below par. I would have borrowed it rather than trouble you; but my friends here, like myself, are without it. Mr. Engelmann can have my office (building), as, I presume, Shields will want it no longer."

"SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 9th, 1841.

"DEAR SIR: I hasten to inform you that the judiciary bill has passed the House by the vote of 46 to 43, precisely the constitutional majority, three Democrats voting against the bill and two went without the bar, refusing to vote. This is a great triumph over the Whigs, and the present corrupt supreme court, who returned the bill with objections because they were personally interested and actuated by political motives.

"Both houses have passed a resolution to adjourn on the first of March, and, I think, it will not be rescinded."

"SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 14th, 1841.

"MY DEAR SIR: Last night, in caucus, we agreed to elect Scates, Breese, Treat, Ford and Douglas, supreme court justices. I pressed the claims of General John M. Robinson, and got for him twenty-seven votes; but could not succeed, for the reason that it was doubted whether he was competent, owing to his long absence from the courts,—and probably it is right. Douglas is talented, but too young for the office. On the whole, however, we could not do much better than elect him.

"On day before yesterday I succeeded in passing through my "little court" bill. It met with one amendment in the Senate, and that was to direct appeals from the county court to the circuit court instead of the supreme court, not to be retried on their merits but on the law. I doubt much if it can pass the House, from the shortness of time to act, and the great timidity of many of our tender-footed Democrats.

"McClernand is again an applicant for the office of Secretary of State since Douglas' promotion to the supreme bench. I hardly think he will get it. I. N. Morris, whom the Governor brought here with him at the commencement of the session, is still hanging on and pressing his claims. The mass of our party here are for McClernand. He may yet succeed; but I doubt it.

"Who would do for County Judge, in event of my bill passing, in our county? Do you know? I think it will pay $1,500 a year in that county for the next two or three years. Would you have it? You know, if so, I would prefer you to any other. I doubt, however, whether the bill can possibly pass the House.

"I suppose the Whigs in Belleville, as elsewhere, are bitter in

denouncing the acts of this legislature. But now we have a Democratic supreme court, Auditor, Secretary of State, and Fund commissioner; and have repealed out of office three Whig internal improvement commissioners, three Whig State house commissioners, four Whig circuit judges, and various other Whig officers; for, in truth, we found Whigs in office everywhere. Then with the Democratic measures and laws we passed, this legislature must be sorely grievous to their Federal notions. Whether or not we can sustain ourselves two years longer is in the "womb of time." But, be that as it may, we will have discharged our duty to our Democratic constituents, and furthered Democratic principles. I suppose you heard that on passage of the judiciary bill the supreme court, in order to defeat it, decided the alien case; Smith deciding that by the constitution aliens had the right to vote; the others deciding that if a voter took the oath prescribed by our law his vote could not be rejected, cautiously reserving the great constitutional question to be decided when the stroke might ruin our party—to such mean shifts did they resort to defeat the bill. At the June term their opinions were made upon the constitutional right of aliens to vote and stated they were prepared to give it; but, owing to a defect in the record, they did not; yet, they would cringe to secure themselves from performing a little labor, and for party purposes. I feel much gratification in now having a court that will decide all questions of a political character upon that broad basis of liberality which suits, and conforms to, the principles we mutually entertain.

"I have no idea of running for Congress if things will work along without me. I suppose I will have to run for Governor. We must prepare to hold a convention in our congressional district. My own opinion is that Hacker will run anyhow; and the truth is, in conversing with the delegation from many parts of the south, he will, I find, carry several Democratic counties there, and all the Whigs in the district. I assure you Reynolds is not popular with the representatives from his district, and, as they say, not with the people either. They say he is worn out, and they are all tired of him. I prefer him to Hacker; but, I will support him only because of party considerations. If McClernand is appointed Secretary of State, I know of no one else we can nominate; but in the event that Col. McClernand is not appointed I would prefer him (for Congress) to either of the

others. Running Reynolds would be an up hill business; for his popularity is gone.

The county judges (provided for in the bill) are to be elected, under the constitution, during good behavior; so, if the Whigs should ever get the power they could not get them out excepting by repealing the courts, and if the courts were popular, they could not do it."

"SPRINGFIELD, Feb. 21st, 1841.

"DEAR SIR: I suppose you have learned that the "little courts" bill failed to pass in the House, as I predicted. Our men were too timid. They thought we had revolutionized enough, and so it is lost. We still have passed no revenue bill, and have done nothing to sustain the credit of the State. The very men who voted for the internal improvement system and run the State millions in debt, are afraid to vote one cent of taxes on their constituents to sustain the tottering credit of the State. The Bank has suspended specie payment, and, I fear, will obtain enough votes here to legalize its suspension. In the House there is no doubt it already has a majority; but in the Senate, I still hope, we will be able to prevent it.

"Breese is here, delighted with his promotion. The new judges are a fine array. *Entre nous*, I think Trumbull will be appointed Secretary of State in place of Douglas, resigned. Breese will appoint a new clerk of the court in St. Clair county. I am again sick, confined to my bed."

The twelfth general assembly authorized organization of the counties of Grundy, Henderson, Kendall, Mason, Piatt, Richland and Woodford, making the total number of counties in the State ninety-four.

The foregoing letters written during that session of the legislature by Mr. Snyder to his friend, Gustavus Koerner, at Belleville, are now of historic interest for the light they shed upon the spirit that animated the writer, and objects and purposes of the party he represented and, to a certain extent, controlled. Mr. Koer-

ner was his intimate friend to whom he always wrote without reserve and with the most familiar freedom; but, it will be observed, that while, in this private and unrestrained correspondence, the most important subjects of legislation are mentioned, not a word was written relating to the Mormon charters. It may be, however, that his letters conveying information regarding those charters were not preserved by Gov. Koerner; or have since been lost.

As the result of his continued mental and physical exertion, Mr. Snyder's overtaxed vital powers failed, and before the close of the session he was compelled to retire from the Senate chamber to the seclusion of his bed room. Incessantly coughing, chilly and feverish, he left the Senate in the afternoon of February 19th, and returned in a carriage to his room at the American House, and sought his bed, where he was confined for five days. By an effort of the will he reappeared in his seat in the afternoon of the 24th, weak, but resolute, and for three days maintained his accustomed vigilance, when he was again forced to take final leave of the Senate. His last official act was voting for confirmation of the Governor's nomination of Lyman Trumbull for Secretary of State, and of certain directors of the Shawneetown bank. He was excused from further attendance, and, on adjournment of the legislature, on the 1st of March, 1841, returned, much fatigued, to his home in Belleville.

Congress, in March, 1841, passed a general bankruptcy law that served—before its repeal in 1843—to relieve many dishonest rascals from their just obligations, thereby adding to the financial distress of their honest and confiding creditors. Plain larceny, or burglary, is

more honorable than that mode of legalized robbery; for in the former there is no violation of confidence.

Reorganization of the courts by the legislature, though instigated, as it was, by party considerations alone, was really an improvement upon the former judiciary system of the State, by placing upon the circuits highly competent judges who rendered more efficient service; and making the supreme court an exceptionally able and dignified tribunal. The Mormon charters and national bankruptcy law—twin abominations—were only preliminary to many other evils that afflicted the people of Illinois in 1841. Cessation of railroad building, and collapse of innumerable private enterprises and schemes for speculation that followed the sudden reaction in financial affairs, brought the State and the people to the very verge of ruin. Traffic in real estate was totally paralyzed; commerce and trade stagnated. Values of property and farm products fell thirty to fifty per cent. All wanted to sell, and there were no purchasers. Debts had been contracted by almost everyone during the flush times of universal credit, and very few had the ability to pay.

The banks, already suspended, were on the brink of failure, and the next year went down carrying ruin and disaster in their train. Their notes, already depreciated from twelve to fifteen per cent, steadily went down lower. The State was in debt over $300,000 for ordinary expenses of maintaining its government, and the State treasury was empty, not having in its vaults sufficient funds to pay postage on its correspondence. No further effort was made to pay interest on the public debt, and the State's internal improvement bonds fell in selling price to as low as fourteen cents on the dollar. There

was no sound money in the State, the only medium of circulation being notes of banks in other states and those of the Illinois banks, with few exceptions depreciated, and of doubtful value. In business transactions, in which payments were made, a "Bank Note Detector" was indispensable to ascertain the latest discounts on the several bank notes quoted. Commercial failures, and recourse to the law for collection of debts, caused much distress, and reduced many to absolute want.

Gen'l Harrison was inaugurated in the Presidency on the fourth of March, 1841, and died a month later. He was succeeded by Vice President Tyler, who nullified the great Whig victory of the year before by a complete change of policy. He placed in his cabinet John C. Calhoun, a Democrat, as Secretary of State, and blasted the cherished hopes of the Whigs for reestablishing the National Bank. The Whigs failed signally to make good their vaunted promises made during the coonskin campaign, to restore "good times" that would ensure to laboring men "two dollars a day and roast beef;" but instead, wages were reduced, times became much harder, and the Democrats elected the next Congress, and annexed Texas. There is always a numerous class of our people who hold the party in power responsible for calamities occurring to the country from natural causes, such as general failure of crops, financial panics, and even visitations of cholera, or other malignant epidemics. The Whigs were unfortunate in having gained their only national victory at the time when the whole country was commercially prostrated by recent collapse of wild internal improvement projects and bank suspensions, for which their party had, somehow, to bear the blame. In Illinois the Whig party continued its organi-

zation with barely strength enough to keep the Democratic party united by its opposition. Though the military prestige of Gen'l Zachary Taylor—as that of Gen'l Harrison in 1840—swept the national Whig party in power in 1848 for the second and last time, at the election in that year the Democrats of Illinois gave Gen'l Cass a majority over Gen'l Taylor of 3,253, re-elected Gov. French without opposition, elected six of the seven congressmen, all the State officers and a majority in both branches of the legislature.

The Whigs of Illinois in 1856 transformed into the Republican party, with large accession of former Democrats, elected Col. Bissell, Governor, by a majority of 4,732, though at the same election the Democrats carried the State for Buchanan for President by 9,159.

Mr. Snyder's health, that for four years had gradually declined, was somewhat recuperated by rest and return of warmer weather. He passed much of his time in the open air, combatting by every known agency the encroachments of the inexorable disease that had marked him for its victim. Mingling with the people as usual —meeting all with his accustomed friendly interest, he discussed with them the gloomy aspect of affairs in which they were all vitally concerned. Always an optimist, he was disposed to a more cheerful view of the situation than existing facts really warranted. Hard times, occasioned by depression of business and scarcity of money, he argued, were but temporary, and would soon be dispelled by influx of immigration and increasing wealth, and rapid development of the State's resources. The State, he said, was young and strong, and could, by careful management, easily overcome the calamities resulting from unfortunate mistakes of the

last few years, and restore confidence and prosperity. In his opinion, no honorable man could for a moment harbor the thought of repudiating either public or personal obligations legally contracted; but, on the contrary, would do all in his power to effect a fair and honest adjustment of all liabilities.

With undiminished industry he continued his professional work and other ordinary pursuits, without relaxing his interest, and influence, in the management of his political party in the State. He was constantly in the care of one or more competent physicians, and observed every precautionary measure advised by them for improvement of his health. As usual, he paid the penalty of his prominent social and public position in not being permitted to dwell in solitude or quietude. Politicians from all parts of the State came to consult him about the welfare of the party, or their own; old friends called to see him; clients, doctors, lawyers, editors, paid him attentions that often extended to annoyance and were positively detrimental to his impaired physical condition. He might well have prayed to be saved from his friends; but, grateful for their friendship, confidence and sympathy, he entertained them all with his accustomed courteous cheerfulness.

Until adoption of the constitution of 1847, State elections in Illinois were held on the first Monday in August. From breaking up of winter until August the agricultural classes were busily engaged with their crops and harvests and had no time to spare to attend political meetings and listen to public discussions. Consequently, aspirants to office usually began their campaign early in the year preceding that of the election, sometimes in the spring before, in order to obtain a hearing, and ex-

pression of views from the people, especially the farmers, at the season when they were most at leisure. So it was that in the spring of 1841 there already was manifested general interest in the selection of candidates for the various offices to be voted for in August, 1842. An additional reason for early interest in that election was the extraordinary financial embarrassment of the State and people. Party feeling was still intense, and each party, by promising to extricate the State from existing difficulties, hoped to gain or retain ascendency in the State government. Neither party, however, had adopted a definite line of policy to guide their action in future State legislation, and few, if any, applicants for office dared to commit themselves to the support of measures that might possibly be distasteful to the people. Many, too, of both parties openly advocated repudiation of the entire State debt incurred for internal improvements.

With the exception of that portion of the Northern Cross road from Meredosia to Springfield, work on all the projected railroads was discontinued. Excavation of the Illinois and Michigan Canal was still prosecuted with vigor by a large force of laborers. That the canal, looked upon by many as a sectional enterprise designed to benefit but a limited northern locality, should be pushed ahead at public expense when all improvements south of a central line were abandoned, created much dissatisfaction and jealousy, particularly in the southern counties. For and against completion of the canal therefore became an issue upon which candidates for office were called upon to define their position.

The leading politicians in the twelfth general assembly found time, in intervals of their arduous labors, to discuss the availability of candidates for the general

election in 1842. By almost unanimous agreement the choice of the Democrats for Governor, to succeed Gov. Carlin, was Adam W. Snyder. No one else was seriously considered in that connection. Many of the Democratic newspapers of the State at once placed his name at the head of their editorial columns as their first choice for the place. Public meetings were held by the Democracy in Perry, Bond, Cass, St. Clair, Washington and other counties, and resolutions adopted by them strongly recommending him for the nomination. Gov. Reynolds and the entire Reynolds faction were among his active supporters.

Candor was a preeminent trait of Mr. Snyder's character. He had convictions, and expressed them frankly whenever occasion required him to do so. His views upon public questions were never doubtful or ambiguous, and they were generally known by the people. To that characteristic was due much of his strength as a leader. Relying upon his honesty of purpose and sound judgment, Democrats who disagreed with him on minor points, waived their differences of opinion, and were his unfailing friends.

The long political campaign preparatory to the August election of 1842 was formally opened by a large mass meeting of citizens at Belleville on the 18th of July, 1841. Mr. Snyder, loudly called for by the assembled people, addressed them for an hour in a manner that stirred his audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Without hesitation he boldly declared himself in favor of speedy completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal; of imposing additional taxes to provide State revenue; of reduction of public expenses so far as was consistent with the State's welfare; of reducing the number of

representatives in the legislature; of total disconnection of the State and banks, and of strict fulfillment of all legal contracts made by the State, in which value was received. His views were adopted, by resolutions, as the voice of the meeting, and by the Democratic party of the State as its platform of principles in the approaching contest.

Discussion of public questions and of probable candidates, the cheerless aspect of business, the new supreme court, default of interest payment on the internal improvements debt; the bankrupt law; the defection of President Tyler to the party that elected him, bitterness of party spirit, and prevailing depression, suspense and uneasiness, kept the people of Illinois in a ferment of excitement and unrest all through the summer of 1841. But, neither failure of banks, nor gigantic State debt, hard times, or fear of taxation, checked the stream of immigrants pouring into the State. Calamities, deplored by the people, lowered values of property, and thus offered tempting investments for foreign capital. In that way the misfortunes of the State contributed to its ultimate benefit; as many of the new comers, attracted by inviting opportunities, brought capital and employed it in substantial enterprises and improvements.

Mr. Snyder remained at home, making no journeys beyond the limits of St. Clair county, excepting an occasional visit to St. Louis. Early in September he went one day to Lebanon, twelve miles northeast of Belleville, accompanied by his entire family, and there entered his two older sons, William H. and Frederick A., as freshmen in McKendree college, from which venerable institution they graduated in due time. He drove there again, with his wife and youngest son, to see them, at

intervals of a few weeks until the rigors of winter confined him to his home. When in Lebanon, on those pleasant excursions, he was entertained at the Mermaid Tavern, whose portly and affable landlord was Capt. Lyman Adams, a Connecticut sea captain, who abandoned the briny deep for quiet rural life near the border of beautiful Looking Glass Prairie. His tavern, scurrilously described by Charles Dickens in the account he gave in his *American Notes*, of his visit to the Prairie in 1842, was a large, old-fashioned, two-story frame building, on the southeastern corner of the public square. The name of the house was designated by a large sign board, six by four feet square, on the top of a tall, stout post planted on the road side near the street corner, on each side of which was painted a charming mermaid standing on her curved tail on the green waves, holding in her left hand a looking glass, and with her right hand combing her long golden tresses.

In the meantime the friends and admirers of Mr. Snyder in all parts of the State were industriously pressing his claims to the nomination for Governor. The following letter from the columns of the Springfield *State Register*, is a sample of the same import appearing in the Democratic papers of the State:

"BLOOMINGTON, ILL., Oct. 3d, 1841.

"GENTLEMEN: In traveling through some of the northern counties, including Logan, DeWitt and McLean, I was pleased to find that there is but one opinion with respect to a candidate for Governor. Adam W. Snyder, of St. Clair county, is the man fixed upon by the people for the office wherever I have been, and, so far as I can learn, throughout the State. It is highly gratifying to see such unanimity on the subject. I know him well and can safely say that the people of the State cannot make a wiser or worthier choice. He is identified with the State and its interests ever since the founding of our State government. He is emphatically a western man—a fearless, talented, manly statesman, and sound, unflinching Democrat—in a word, he is a man of the people.

A DEMOCRAT."

Mr. Snyder was grateful for the loyalty of his friends and party to his interests in his aspirations for distinction and high position in the State; but the zealous ambition that prompted his earlier political efforts was measurably subdued by his protracted illness and gloomy prospects for much longer resisting it. He exerted himself very little to secure the nomination, as he felt assured the convention would tender it to him unasked, and concluded, if it did so, he would enter the campaign as standard bearer of the Illinois Democracy, actuated as much by sense of duty and obligations as from any earnest desire for the office of Governor. He was a firm, unswerving partisan, valuing success of the cause he believed to be right above all personal honors; and for that end would willingly make any reasonable personal sacrifice.

In October, 1841, a meeting of the Peoria Democracy was held in that city for the purpose of selecting delegates to represent Peoria county in the Democratic State Convention called to meet in December, at Springfield. The delegates then and there chosen, regarding completion of the Illinois and Michigan Canal of vital importance to their county and section of the State, addressed a note of inquiry to each of several prominent men who had been, more or less, mentioned as probable candidates before the convention for nomination for Governor, to ascertain their views upon the canal question. To their note sent Mr. Snyder he at once answered as follows:

"BELLEVILLE, ILL., Oct. 31st, 1841.

"MESSRS. W. H. THOMPSON, ALEC. DUNLAP, N. H. PURPLE AND ONSLOW PETERS, *Delegates to the Democratic Convention, at Springfield, from Peoria County:*

"GENTLEMEN:

"I have received your letter of the 18th *inst.* propounding cer-

tain interrogatories, enclosed with the 'Proceedings of the Peoria meeting for appointment of Gubernatorial delegates.'

"The following are the interrogatories: '1st. Are you in favor of the Illinois and Michigan Canal, and of completing its construction at an early day?'

"'2d. If you should receive the nomination of the Democratic convention to be holden at Springfield in December next, and should you be elected Governor of this State at the ensuing August election, would you use your official influence and power to procure an early completion of the canal; and would you be in favor of using the revenues and credit of the State to effect that object as far as it can be done without manifest injustice and oppression to any portion of the State?'

"To both interrogatories I unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative.

"I do not deem it necessary to enter into the numerous reasons that could have frequently been given why the canal should be completed, and consequently will trouble you with but few. In my opinion the speedy completion of the canal would do much to inspire confidence in the State, and elevate its credit and character abroad. It would greatly increase the value of our products and property. The tolls derived from it, and the value imparted by its completion to canal lands, would aid us in the payment of our interest, and enable the State to progress with other useful improvements.

"After the expenditure of four millions of dollars, the work very far towards completion, I cannot entertain the idea for a moment that it will be abandoned. Every consideration of sound policy and State pride would forbid it.

"I look forward with much confidence to its early completion, and, whether in a public or private capacity, my humble but zealous efforts will be found promoting that result.

"I am, very respectfully, your ob'd'nt servant,

"A. W. SNYDER.

"TO MESSRS. W. H. THOMPSON, &C., DELEGATES, &C."

The *Peoria Press* published above letter and added, "No replies from other gentlemen addressed on the subject, have, as yet, been received."

CHAPTER XVII.

The Democratic State Convention of 1841—Mr. Snyder nominated for Governor—Resigns his office of State Senator—His continued ill health—The Mormons declare in his favor—Dr. Joseph Green—Gen'l Joseph Duncan chosen by the Whigs as their candidate for Governor—Death and burial of Mr. Snyder—Removal of his remains.

The Democratic State convention, called to nominate candidates of the party for Governor and Lieutenant Governor, met at Springfield on the 5th of December, 1841. It was a representative gathering of the Illinois Democracy, with delegates from 88 of the 96 counties, in attendance. Mr. Snyder did not attend the convention.

The delegates from St. Clair county were Gustavus Koerner, William H. Underwood, Philip B. Foulke, David W. Hopkins, John Sheel, John Simpson, Henry W. Moore and Phillip Penn.

The convention was organized by election of Major William Edmonson, of McDonough county, temporary chairman, who, after thanking the assembly for the honor in a short but spirited speech, appointed the usual committees, on permanent organization, credentials, resolutions, etc. The time occupied by deliberations of the committees was utilized by eminent Democrats in addressing the large assemblage "on the issues of the day."

Reports of the committees were offered and adopted. That on permanent organization recommended Hon. Revill W. English, of Greene county, for permanent presiding officer, and the convention unanimously confirmed their choice. Nominations for a candidate for Governor being then in order, Major Edmonson arose, and in an eloquent and earnest speech, interrupted and

endorsed by loud and frequent bursts of applause, placed Hon. Adam W. Snyder, of St. Clair county, in nomination as the convention's choice for the office of Governor of Illinois. A delegate from Union county then offered for the same position, Hon. Milton K. Alexander, of Edgar county. On call of the counties by the Secretary, 148 delegates voted for the nomination of Mr. Snyder, and 11 for Mr. Alexander; whereupon the President of the convention declared that Hon. Adam W. Snyder, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was the chosen candidate of the party for Governor.

For Lieutenant Governor, five aspirants were offered to the convention to be balloted for, namely: John Moore, of McLean county; Samuel Hackelton, of Lee; Peter Cartwright, of Sangamon; William A. Richardson, of Schuyler, and Milton K. Alexander, of Edgar. On the fifth ballot Mr. Moore received 66 votes, Mr. Hackelton 5, Mr. Cartwright 17, Mr. Richardson 48, and Mr. Alexander 5. Mr. Moore was therefore declared the nominee for Lieutenant Governor, having received a majority of the votes of all the delegates. Mr. Morris, an Adams county delegate, then offered the following resolution: "*Resolved*, that this Convention now unanimously nominate Adam W. Snyder of St. Clair county, for Governor, and John Moore,* of McLean county, for Lieuten-

* John Moore was born in Lincolnshire, England, Sept. 8th, 1793, and came to Illinois in 1830, settling on a farm in McLean county. He was elected to represent that county in the lower house of the State legislature in the tenth and eleventh general assemblies, 1836 to 1840; and elected to the State Senate in 1840. He was elected Lieutenant Governor on the ticket with Thomas Ford, in 1842, receiving 45,567 votes to 38,426 given his Whig opponent, William H. Henderson, of Putnam county. At the outbreak of the Mexican war, in 1846, he enlisted as a private soldier, and, in organization of the Fourth regiment of Illinois volunteers, was elected its Lieutenant Colonel, and served through the war with marked credit. In 1848 he was appointed State treasurer to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Milton Carpenter. In 1850 he was elected to that office, and continued, by re-elections, serving with ability and fidelity, in that office until 1857, earning for his faithfulness to his trust the title of "honest" John Moore. He died, honored and esteemed by all who knew him, on the 23d of September, 1863.

ant Governor," which was adopted with ringing cheers and other demonstrations of approval. The convention, having no further business before it, then adjourned.

When the result was known in Belleville a large concourse of citizens, of both parties, called upon Mr. Snyder to congratulate him upon his nomination, with fervent hopes for his speedy restoration to health. Of his election not the least doubt was entertained by any. Advancing winter had already told with depressing effect upon his shattered system; but, cheered and invigorated by the spontaneous and cordial homage of his fellow citizens, he rallied and in a brief and feeling speech announced his readiness to lead his party in the approaching contest; and, with heartfelt gratitude, expressed his appreciation of their kind solicitude for his welfare. When notified by the Secretary of the convention of his nomination he immediately resigned his office of State Senator.

The action of the convention met the full approbation of all the Democratic papers of the State; and the candidates it presented were enthusiastically endorsed in terms of which the following extract from an editorial of the Springfield *State Register*, of Dec. 17th, 1841, is a fair sample:

"Col. Adam W. Snyder, of St. Clair county, and John Moore, Esq., of McLean, who have been nominated as Democratic candidates for Governor and Lieutenant Governor by the convention are well known by our people generally, particularly the former. They are known as honest, high-minded and patriotic men, devoted to the principles of the Democratic faith, and to the welfare of the State. Few men in the western country stand higher in intellectual strength than Col. Snyder. He is known as one possessing the brightest order of talents, great strength of mind, and energy of character. Mr. Moore is known as a plain farmer, a hard working man—possessing excellent talents and much firmness and energy, &c."

The *Shelbyville Herald* of Jan. 3d, 1842, said in part:

"There is no man more generally or more favorably known to the people of Illinois than Col. Snyder. He has resided in the State for more than twenty years, during which time he represented the people of his county and district in both the State and National legislatures. As a man of talents Col. Snyder ranks among the first in Illinois, and even the tongue of slander has never yet dared to assail his private character."

No State convention was called by the Whigs, but shortly after adjournment of the Democratic convention, a caucus of leading Whigs of the State agreed upon Gen'l Joseph Duncan, of Morgan county, as the candidate of their party for Governor, and William H. Henderson, of Putnam county, for Lieutenant Governor. Up to that time the Mormon attitude in relation to the political parties of the State was very uncertain. Consequently, the people of Nauvoo, and the extraordinary privileges and powers granted them by the last legislature, were mentioned with respectful caution, if mentioned at all, in connection with the next election, by the press and leaders of either party. The Mormons having voted the Whig ticket at the last general election, and their demands upon the twelfth general assembly having been championed successfully by Mr. Little, their Whig Senator, the Whig leaders fondly hoped they might again rely upon the united Mormon support at future elections. The leading Democrats, however, were neither asleep nor idle, but very alert. To Stephen A. Douglas, then a justice of the supreme court, they delegated the management of the Mormons, and his blandishments were successful in turning the scale of Mormon influence in favor of his party. Having duly considered the arguments advanced by Judge Douglas in support of the Democratic party and its candidate for

Governor, Jo. Smith, the Mormon Prophet and leader, absolute in his realm in political as well as ecclesiastical matters, published a proclamation in the Nauvoo papers declaring Judge Douglas "a master spirit," and exhorting his people to vote for Mr. Snyder.

His exhortation, equivalent to a command, blasted every hope of the Whigs for aid in that quarter. Seeing they were out-generaled by the Democrats, their leader, Gov. Duncan, determined to make, if possible, the Mormon charters the main question of the campaign. The Democrats would, without doubt, have pursued the same course had Jo Smith decided to give his support to the Whigs. Mr. Snyder when chairman of the State Judiciary Committee, to which the infamous measures concocted by Senator Little were referred, had reported them favorably, and they were passed without roll call, or a dissenting vote from any member of either party, then approved by the Council of Revision, a majority of whom were Whigs.

Morally, the two parties were equally guilty of degrading justice and prostituting legislative power for party ends. But, the Democrats were in the ascendency in both houses of the legislature that legalized those measures, and, obviously, could have defeated their passage, and did not. Consequently, as their party was, by the majority principle underlying Democratic, or Republican, government, justly held responsible for all legislation when in power, Gov. Duncan maintained that Mr. Snyder was estopped from pleading the Whig origin of those monstrous Mormon charters, and Whig agency in their enactment.

In the year elapsed since they were granted the Mormons had gained large accessions to their numbers by

immigration, and had grown to be a voting factor of great power in State elections. Alarmed by their rapidly increasing strength the "Gentile" citizens regarded them with suspicion and distrust. The Mormons, conscious of the advantage they held, became arrogant and insolent, and the friction between the two soon ripened to open hostilities. The Whig press and orators all over the State took up the cause of the settlers, and charged the Mormons with lawlessness, crime and every species of moral and social corruption and wickedness; and contended that candidates supported by their votes were no better than Mormons themselves. They had become very odious to the citizens of Hancock county outside of Nauvoo, and were, no doubt, very undesirable neighbors. To the growing aversion to them, spreading over the State, Gov. Duncan appealed, and upon that sentiment alone based his hope of election.

Mr. Snyder was confined to his room all winter, much of the time to his bed, wasted by distressing cough, hectic fever, and other usual symptoms of the dreadful disease that for almost five years had been insidiously sapping his vitality. Through the long bleak winter he battled heroically for an extension of his lease of life. He resisted the inevitable with all the force of his strong will. He had but little fear of death, and still less, if possible, of the mythical future; but earnestly desired a few years respite from that doom for the welfare of his family by his further exertions, and for attaining the goal of his financial and political aspirations. The best physicians accessible attended him daily, and exhausted their knowledge and skill and all available resources of medical art for his aid. He was surrounded by all comforts and luxuries to be procured, regardless of expense.

The markets far and near were drawn upon for delicacies to tempt his feeble appetite and sustain his failing strength. Drug stores were in daily requisition for the latest and most efficacious remedies and appliances to stay or mitigate the ravages of the pitiless malady. Friends, of both parties and all creeds, clustered around him, exerting themselves to cheer and encourage him and otherwise lighten the dreariness of his affliction. At times he was very despondent; and again, buoyed up —as all consumptives are—by flattering hope of overcoming, at least for a time, the horrid scourge that held him in its grasp, his eyes sparkled and cheeks flushed with animation, as he spoke with confident eagerness of the contest he expected soon to be engaged in.

In February, 1842, the death of an old and trusted friend cast over him a shade of melancholy and dejection with dispiriting effect. Dr. Joseph Green, for many years his physician and intimate associate, was -as himself—a victim of the same fatal disease that was nearing its final exhaustive stage when the cold breath of incoming winter, at the close of 1841, confined them both to their respective homes, situated but the distance of a rifle shot apart. Dr. Green was born in Reading, Pennsylvania, in February, 1784, and came to Belleville in 1817, where he resided the remainder of his life. In 1822 he married the widow of Alphonso C. Stuart who was killed by Timothy Bennet in a duel at Belleville in 1819. In 1827 Dr. Green issued *The Western News*, the first newspaper published in St. Clair county; and, in 1836, he was elected to represent that county in the legislature. Natives of the same state, arriving in Illinois about the same time, entertaining many views in common, and, both members of the Masonic order, Dr. Green and Mr. Snyder were, from their first acquaintance, unflagging

friends. Unable longer to visit each other, they had recourse to almost daily written corespondence, to while away the tedium of their doleful imprisonment, and inspire each other with hope, that both knew was baseless. Dr. Green's last communication to Mr. Snyder, dated Feb. 15th, was filled with feeling expressions of his life-long friendship and esteem, and concluded with the most touching and pathetic farewell. His death followed in a few days—on the 20th of February, 1842.

With iron determination Mr. Snyder still contended bravely with the merciless enemy in the continued unequal combat. The long, cheerless winter wore slowly away, and when the blustery month of March was ushered in with roaring blast, contrary to all expectations, he revived perceptibly. As spring advanced Nature resumed her smiling aspect of sunshine and verdure and bursting buds, tempting the invalid to emerge from his wearisome hibernation into the fresh, invigorating air. Daily carriage exercise gave him some increase of strength and animation. In April he walked daily to his office and the court house during the spring term of circuit court and attended to some matters of legal business.

At that time Judge John Milton Scott, who in after years became an eminent justice, and chief justice, of the Illinois supreme court, and who left at his death an estate valued at $200,000, was operating a wool carding machine for William C. Davis, in Belleville, at a salary of $7 per month and board, and employed his spare time in reading law books loaned to him by William C. Kinney. He was born and educated in St. Clair county, and was personally acquainted with Mr. Snyder of whom he remarks:*

* The Supreme Court of Illinois. By J. M. Scott, Bloomington, Ill., 1896, pp. 170-209-320.

"Adam Wilson Snyder was one of the lawyers of recognized ability and worth that constituted the early bar of the supreme court, and achieved distinction at the bar in law and in advocacy. * * * He had many qualities that fitted him for politics. Perhaps he had more fondness for politics than for the law. In 1834 he was a candidate for Congress, but was defeated by Gov. Reynolds. Between the two there was a constant rivalry. The contest was renewed in 1836, when he overcame Reynolds and was elected a member of Congress. Mr. Snyder conducted an able and vigorous campaign—not always, however, devoid of some bitterness. He was too honorable and dignified in his bearing to cope successfully with Gov. Reynolds in the low arts of the mere politician. In 1841, Mr. Snyder was nominated by the Democratic convention for Governor of the State, and would without doubt have been elected had he lived till the time of election.

Notwithstanding he was so much engaged in political and business affairs, he still practiced law with a good measure of success. Perhaps the last legal argument he ever made was made in the old court house in Belleville, rendered notably famous by the description of its location given by Mr. Dickens in his *American Notes*, which, by the way, is as meanly untrue as anything he ever wrote. * * * * When Mr. Snyder was making his last argument in that old court house, that had been the scene of many of his triumphs, his very appearance is still remembered by a few contemporaries that still survive. It was not long before his death. Ill health had before that time so impaired his strength, he had given up the general practice of the law. Much attention was attracted by his personal appearance. Standing in the presence of the court, much debilitated by long sickness it was evident to everyone who heard him, he was making his last legal argument, and that fact, coupled with a high personal regard, caused him to be heard with unusual interest. The end of his life came soon. Had Mr. Snyder had more vigorous health and had he lived he would have been one of the most prominent men in the State. He died during his canvass for Governor of the State. Having received the nomination of his party he would surely have been elected Governor of the State had he lived."

He was in constant communication with prominent men of his party all over the State, and amost every day

one or more of them came to consult him personally regarding the conduct of the campaign. He intended soon to assume active management of it himself, commencing at Alton, or Springfield, with an address to the people. But April had not yet passed when his temporary and deceptive improvement began to fail. With advancing of the spring season he became weaker. The weather, delightfully warm and pleasant—such as had for the past four summers revived and invigorated him—now had a debilitating, prostrating effect. Still, he struggled against fate and clung to illusive hope.

Hon. Amos Thompson, who came with his parents to St. Clair county, Illinois, in 1818, writing, on the 4th of July, 1899, then at the age of 92 years, said: "One pleasant day, when walking through the public square in Belleville, I observed him (Adam W. Snyder) sitting alone under one of the small shade trees then standing on the square. I approached him, and our greetings were most cordial. After our conversation the last words I heard him speak were the following: 'Thompson, is it not hard that now I am prepared to live, and to serve my country, I must die?' That was the last time I saw him alive. Gov. Koerner and myself were two of his pall bearers. I have forgotten who the others were."

It seemed to him a cruel fate to be compelled to retire from the field of action in the meridian of life, when the objects for which he had manfully labored and given all the energies of body and mind, were apparently within his grasp.

By the first of May he could no longer leave his room. He fully realized the long hard battle he had waged with the worst of human ills was near its close, and that

he was vanquished; and begged to be left alone with his family. Politicians were excluded from his chamber, and but few of his friends admitted. Ministers came to pray for him, and were politely invited into the parlor, down stairs, to pray there, as he did not wish to be disturbed. Assisted from his bed to an inclined chair by the open window he inhaled the bracing air fragrant with the breath of apple blossoms, and gazed in silence at the radiant sky and fresh green grass, and the unfolding leaves and flowers joyous with the hum of bees and song of birds. No word of repining escaped his lips, but the deep sigh and moistened eyes revealed the mental anguish he suffered.

Thus he passed the first week of the lovely month of May. In a few days more he was unable to sit up or leave his bed. The tide was ebbing fast. He could no longer speak; but his bright mind remained unclouded. Conscious that his last hour on earth had arrived he hoarsely whispered an affectionate farewell to his mourning family, servants and friends gathered around his bed, and calmly, as though sinking into a quiet sleep, his life ceased, at 4 o'clock p. m., on Saturday, May 14th, 1842, at the age of 42 years, 7 months and 8 days.

Two hours later the *Belleville Advocate*—edited by Philip B. Foulke, who subsequently represented that district in Congress—issued an extra containing the following notice:

"DIED—At his residence, in Belleville, on Saturday, the 14th day of May, A. D., 1842, the Honorable Adam Wilson Snyder, in the 43d year of his age, after a lingering illness of several months, from which his physicians, himself and his numerous friends throughout the State, had hoped and expected he would recover.

"For several weeks, up to a few days past, Mr. Snyder had im-

proved in strength, and strong hopes were entertained of his ultimate recovery; but his disease, which was an affection of the lungs, terminated in dropsy of the heart, and carried him off about 4 o'clock p. m., with little pain, and without a struggle. His mind was calm and composed, and he took leave of his family with every token of the strongest affection and deepest sensibility, and exhibited, in the last dread hour, the resignation and courage of a good and virtuous man: as he had always endeavored to do unto all men as he would that they should do unto him.

"We commiserate the numerous and afflicted family and relatives of the deceased, who have lost, in him, a kind, true-hearted and affectionate friend, companion and parent. We grieve that society has lost one of its noblest ornaments, and the State of Illinois one of her most useful, public-spirited and patriotic citizens—a man so well qualified to serve his country, and reflect honor on its highest station.

"We grieve, too, that what we believe to be the cause of *Democracy*, of correct political principles, and of sound legislation, has lost in Mr. Snyder one of its ablest and most eloquent champions. Long will it be before his place is filled by a man equally bold, zealous and independent. His temperament was ardent, and his mind one of the most active and energetic ever created in a tenement of clay. Those who were unacquaintd with him can form little idea of the strength and fervor of his convictions, the candor and liberality of his opinions, the brilliancy of his intellect, and the benevolence and goodness which shone forth in every feature of his character, and rendered him the delight and admiration of all who knew him. Manliness was written on his brow, and the milk of human kindness flowed around his heart. No man in political life ever exhibited less personal hostility towards opponents, or greater charity in judging the motives of men. He was zealous without bigotry—firm and consistent without arrogance, and uncompromising in his political views without the least mixture of malice or dogmatism, or that rancor of feeling which too often characterizes party strife.

"We might say of him as was said of a Roman patriot:

" 'His life was gentle,
And the elements so mixed in him,
That nature might stand up to all the world
And say, *this was a man.*'

"But the present is not the occasion, nor have we the ability to do justice to the character of Adam W. Snyder. We will leave that duty to some of those who knew him longer, and are better qualified to portray his noble qualities.

(Here followed a sketch of his genealogy and political career).

"At the time of his death he was the candidate of his party for Governor; and had his life and health been spared him he would certainly have exercised the powers of that high office, with honor to himself and with great advantage and lasting benefit to the State of his adoption. He has gone, however, and with him have perished his own sanguine hopes and expectations, together with the ardent wishes of a vast circle of friends and admirers."

In its next issue the *Advocate* said:

"The remains of Col. Snyder were followed to the grave last Monday morning by a concourse of friends never before equaled in numbers, in this county on any previous occasion of a similar nature.

"A cloud of despondency and gloom seemed to hang over the minds of all present; the dark shades of grief were visible on every countenance. All gave abundant evidence how deeply they sympathized with the bereaved family and relatives of the deceased. Col. Snyder is no more. The sudden change of his disease under which he labored is attributed to exposure in riding out during inclement weather. It was while taking his usual morning ride that Col. Snyder was overtaken by a shower of rain, and returned home with his clothes completely saturated with water which threw him into a relapse that terminated his existence."*

The *Illinois State Register* of May 20th, 1842, said editorially, in part:

"With feelings of deepest regret we learn that the Hon. A. W. Snyder is no more. He departed this life on the 14th *inst.* at his

* From the date of Mr. Snyder's nomination for Governor the Whig papers throughout the State industriously circulated the (too true) report that he was an invalid far gone with consumption; and, if elected, would not long survive his inauguration. The Advocate sturdily contradicted those statements, and asserted Mr. Snyder was only temporarily indisposed, and in a fair way to recovery. This explains the Advocate's assertion, in its obituary notice, of sudden metastasis of Mr. Snyder's disease to "dropsy of the heart;" and also the sudden relapse from exposure to a shower of rain, in the funeral notice; neither of which assertions had any basis in fact.

residence in Belleville, and has left a bereaved wife and family and a large circle of friends to bewail his loss. But his loss will be sincerely felt, not only by his friends and family, but by the public generally. The brightest hopes were entertained by a large portion of his fellow citizens that Mr. Snyder was fitted by his experience, honesty and ability to aid essentially in extricating the State from its present difficulties. With these inspiring hopes he was selected by the Democratic party as their candidate for Governor; but death has fixed his seal of sorrow upon all those expectations. He is gone and a generous people will mourn his loss and grieve over his death as a public calamity."

Gen'l Usher F. Linder, in his "Early Bench and Bar of Illinois," written in 1875, says of Mr. Snyder:

"He was a most elegant gentleman, and was the only man that ever beat old Governor Reynolds for Congress. * * * * I never knew a man possessing higher colloquial and conversational powers. He was never at a loss for a word or idea. * * * * I never enjoyed a richer treat than the society and conversation of Adam W. Snyder. Had he lived he certainly would have been Governor beyond all doubt, for he was decidedly the most popular Democrat in the State of Illinois."

From a sketch of Mr. Snyder in the *History of St. Clair County*, published in 1881, the following extracts are taken:

"In 1841 he was made the Democratic candidate for Governor; but died while the campaign was in progress. His election as Governor was assured had he lived. * * * * As a lawyer Mr. Snyder was remarkable for his power over a jury. Between the jury and him there seemed to be a feeling of friendly fellowship, and the former nearly always set it down that he was right, and gave him a verdict accordingly. His speeches were always brief, pointed and forcible. He rarely ever spoke more than half an hour; but that time was sufficient for him to gain a wonderful influence over the minds of the jurors. In the defense of Gannett, who was tried at Carlyle for the murder of O'Harnette, he spoke one hour; but this was the longest speech to a jury he was ever known to make."

In his personal memoirs, written in 1894, among his references to Mr. Snyder, Gov. Koerner says:

"While Mr. Snyder was aspiring and ambitious, yet in all his conversations and letters he never urged his claims as absolute. He was always willing to subordinate them to what he supposed was the good of the party. He was one of the least selfish politicians I have ever known. * * * * He was so loyal to his friends, and yet so open and courteous to his opponents that he really had no personal enemies."

Rev. William F. Boyakin, D. D., a contemporary of Mr. Snyder, in Belleville, now (1903) 95 years of age, writing of him in a series of personal sketches to the newspapers of that city in 1896, said of him:

"Onward and upward he moved in the trust and confidence of the people, and in political position, till he was just preparing to take the highest seat within the gift of the people of the State, when in the full vigor of manhood, he was arrested with disease, and in 1842 died. The whole State bowed in mourning at so sad an event. * * * * He was a noble man in all the elements of true manhood. A close student, clear intellect, brilliant speaker, warm-hearted, magnetic, the soul of honor, and, all in all, a man of pure and unblemished morals."

In the field of theological and ecclesiastical thought Mr. Snyder was an agnostic, so constituted mentally as to be without a trace of superstition, and wholly unable to believe the miraculous and supernatural. He was respectfully tolerant of opinions and doctrines contrary to those he entertained; always avoiding religious or theological controversies, and treating all sects and denominations with polite deference. Ministers of different creeds were his friends and frequent guests at his home; and, before a Catholic church was established in Belleville, a priest occasionally celebrated Mass at his house before an extemporized altar for the few Catholics residing there.

In his view sincerity was the first attribute of true manhood, and he despised hypocricy and all practices of foxy craftiness and deceit. He was of sanguine, hopeful temperament; self-respecting and honest, a firm, reliable friend, and fair, manly opponent. Benevolence, charity and hospitality were elements of his nature, as was also a kind, amiable disposition. His oratory was not florid or effusive, but fluent, logical and always earnest and impressive. Though a profane adjective at times escaped him in excitement, his language in conversation was grammatical, cultured and chaste; and though he told anecdotes well and often, he seldom descended to the vulgar and obscene to illustrate his subject. He was not destitute of musical talent, and could hum or whistle many of the popular airs; but cultivated that gift no farther. In youth and health he was an elegant dancer, and usually the leading spirit in all social gatherings he attended. His indulgence in wine and other liquors, for which he had no natural or acquired taste, was very limited, and an occasional cigar comprised his use of tobacco. All his domestic life, business relations and intercourse with the public reflected the natural impulses and traits of the true gentleman.

By his positive request no religious, or church, services were held at his funeral. That he was a member of the Masonic Order was not known to his family until the day of his death. The local lodge of Masons kindly offered to take charge of his burial, but their offer was declined by Mrs. Snyder, a devout Catholic, who entertained all the implacable prejudices of that church against secret societies. Hearses had not then been introduced in rural districts of the west; nor had "coffin trusts" yet been invented to rob the grief-stricken, and

the western people were fortunately strangers to the gaudy displays and extravagant folly of modern funerals. Mr. Snyder's coffin was the finest and best then procurable. It was made, during the night and day following his death by Messrs. Kimber and Affleck,* the town cabinet-makers, of walnut lumber and covered with black velvet, ornamented with deep black fringe fastened around the edge of the raised lid with brass tacks, and cost thirty dollars. The coffin, with body enclosed, was carried from the residence, by relays of his personal friends, to the town cemetery, half a mile distant, and there lowered in the grave. Over his remains was, a few months later, placed a paneled tomb of finely dressed stone, bearing on the broad surmounting tablet an inscription simply stating the name, place and date of birth and date of death of deceased, with addition of the following epitaph:

"Ye men of genius tread lightly o'er his ashes,
For he was your kinsman."

Expanding growth of the town, some years later, compelled abandonment of that old burying ground. It was sold to the Catholic Bishop, and is now occupied by his residence and the parochial school building. Mr. Snyder's remains were exhumed and removed with many others, in 1874, and reinterred in the Harrison cemetery in the eastern suburbs. That, too, was soon in the sphere of the city's encroachments, and Mr. Snyder's dust was once more removed to their final resting place in beautiful Green Mount cemetery, a mile and a half beyond Belleville's southeastern limits.

There, in the midst of charming natural surroundings,

* Mr. James Affleck, a citizen of Belleville since 1818, died in that city on the 17th of April, 1902, aged 88 years, 8 months and 2 days.

beautified by highest perfection of the landscape gardener's art and embellished with imposing monuments of sculptured marble and carved granite, repose in peaceful solitude all that remains on earth of Adam W. Snyder.*

* The grave of Mr. Snyder, in Green Mount cemetery, and that of Gov. Reynolds, in Walnut Hill, are about a mile and a half apart.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Thomas Ford succeeds Mr. Snyder as candidate for Governor—His election—His boastful insinuations refuted by himself—The truth of history.

The time intervening between the date of Mr. Snyder's death, May 14th, and that of the election, August 2d, was considered too brief for calling another delegate convention to nominate a candidate in his place. Democratic papers in the State suggested their different preferences for the vacancy, and in Scott and Shelby counties Democratic meetings were held that passed resolutions recommending Gov. Reynolds as their choice. In a few other counties similar public meetings put forward other persons as the most available for the party's candidate.

A State central committee as part of the political machinery not yet having been thought of, on the 7th of June, 1842, a meeting of the principal Democrats of the State was held at Springfield, who, after due deliberation, agreed upon Judge Thomas Ford, at that time engaged in holding court at Ottawa, as the candidate for Governor. He was born in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, early in the year 1800, a few months later than Mr. Snyder's birth, and eleven miles distant from Connellsville, Mr. Snyder's birth place. Judge Ford possessed a strong, clear, analytical mind; had studied law with Daniel P. Cook, and was admittedly a superior jurist. He was but an indifferent speaker, totally ignorant of the arts and methods of electioneering, and was not classed among the aspiring politicians of the State. He was honorable, and conscientiously honest

in every motive and deed; but totally wanting in penetration and tact. He canvassed very little of the State, and with no exertion, was elected by 8,317 majority, the votes cast for him numbering 46,901, and for Gen'l Duncan 38,584.*

Gov. Ford died in Peoria on the 3d of November, 1850, aged 50 years. All the estate he left at his death was the manuscript of his *History of Illinois*, published by his friend, Gen'l James Shields, in 1854. It is a work of very high merit, and was written by him mainly with the view of vindicating his administration from the severe criticisms it met from members and newspapers of both parties. The chapters on the Black Hawk war, in which he participated, were previously written and delivered by him as a lecture. The style of the book is clear, comprehensive and philosophical. Though some of the opinions expressed in its pages are harsh and incisive, and a few unjust, it adheres closely to facts; and is altogether, for the period it covers, the best and most reliable history of Illinois yet written.

Gov. Ford was very vain of his intellectual endowments, if not of his personal appearance. He placed as high an estimate upon himself, his abilities and political importance, particularly after his elevation to the office of Governor, as any one else was disposed to do. He arrogantly claimed his large majority over Gen'l Duncan was due to his individual force and popularity, when, in fact, any one of the best known Democratic politicians

* There was a third ticket in the field at that election, nominated by what was known as the "Liberty Party," an organization representing the Abolitionism of Lovejoy, and confined chiefly to Madison county. The candidates were Charles W. Hunter for Governor, and Frederick Collins for Lieutenant Governor; 909 votes were cast in the State for Hunter, and 905 for Collins. Mr. Hunter was an enterprising citizen of Alton, proprietor of "Hunter's addition" to lower Alton; and Mr. Collins was a resident of Collinsville, in Madison county.

in the State would have received the same support, because of weakness of the Whig party and its candidate.

Alluding, in his *History of Illinois*, to his caucus nomination for Governor, he says: "Mr. Snyder had been nominated because he was a leader of the party. Mr. Snyder died, and I was nominated, not because I was a leader, for I was not, but because I was believed to have no more than a very ordinary share of ambition; because it was doubtful whether any of the leaders could be elected, and because it was thought I would stand more in need of support from leaders than an actual leader." In mentioning the expectation of his opponent, Gov. Duncan, to be elected on the question of Mormon legislation alone, he remarked: "There is no knowing how far he might have succeeded, if Mr. Snyder had lived to be his competitor."

Just why "it was doubtful if any of the (Democratic) leaders could be elected," Gov. Ford fails to state; nor does he give any reason for his intimation that Mr. Snyder might have been defeated had he lived until the election. The inference to be drawn, however, is that the Mormon question would have been fatal to Democratic success.

Yet, though the Democrats were justly held responsible for enacting the Mormon charters, they carried the State at the general election in 1842 with a majority of over 8,000, electing to the legislature 28 Senators to 14 elected by the Whigs, and in the House 81 Democrats to 37 Whigs. That overwhelming defeat of the Whigs was chiefly due to the reaction of public sentiment following their utter failure to redeem their pledges, and ameliorate hard times, after the triumph of their party at the national election in 1840. That resistless tide of reac-

tion setting so strongly in support of the Democrats in Illinois would have ensured the election of *anyone* nominated by them upon their State ticket.

That foolish insinuation of Gov. Ford's is one of the very few instances of inconsistency occurring in his admirable history; and was written apparently to magnify his own value to the Democratic party, which he regarded as peculiarly fortunate in escaping defeat by having had the wisdom to select *him* for its candidate, because he was not a leader. However, the grave danger he surmised Democratic leaders were to apprehend from the Mormon question he himself dispels at the close of the chapter from which the foregoing statements are quoted, as follows: "As soon as I was announced as a candidate for Governor, the Mormon question was revived against me as being the heir of the lamented Snyder. But it could not be made to work much against me. I had been as little concerned in the passage of the Mormon charters as my opponent. Of course, in a State so decidedly Democratic, I was elected by a large majority. The banks, the State debt, the canal, and the Mormons, together with the general politics of the Union, were the principal topics of discussion during the canvass. *Topics of local interest, however, had but little influence on the result of the election.* The people of Illinois were so thoroughly partisan upon the great questions of the nation, that matters of merely local concern, though of vital importance to the people, were disregarded."

That being so, why was "it doubtful whether any of the leaders could be elected?" The campaign of 1842 was fought by the two parties altogether upon national issues. Questions of State policy were scarcely mentioned, because there was no State question at issue

seriously dividing the people of Illinois at that election but that of the banks, and that was completely overshadowed by efforts of Whigs in Congress to reestablish a National Bank. The attempt of Gen'l Duncan to make the Mormon charters an issue would necessarily have failed, because in that matter one party was as deep in the mire as the other. John Moore, Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, and a Democratic leader, was a Senator, with Mr. Snyder, in the twelfth general assembly, and was as deeply implicated in passing the Mormon charters as the others; and still he was elected by the majority of 7,141. And he was not so generally well known throughout the State, or as personally popular, as was Mr. Snyder.

In that same general assembly, either actively or tacitly aiding the passage of the Mormon charters, were Edward D. Baker, William A. Richardson, John D. Wood, William H. Bissell, John Dougherty, Thomas Drummond, Joseph Gillespie, John J. Hardin, Abraham Lincoln, John A. McClernand, Lewis W. Ross, Lyman Trumbull, David M. Woodson, and others, whose future political fortunes were not in the least affected by their participation in that infamy.

At the August election in 1842 there was no possibility of Gen'l Duncan's election, had Mr. Snyder lived to be his competitor, or had he been opposed by any other Democratic leader, excepting by inducing a sufficient number of Democrats to repudiate their own candidate and vote for him or refuse to vote for either. Neither contingency was at all probable; for though Gen'l Duncan was highly respected by his opponents as an able, just and honest man of sterling character, he was more odious to the Democrats politically than any public man

then in the Whig party in Illinois, and, in fact, the weakest candidate the Whigs could have put in the field for Governor.

The world despises a renegade—particularly a political renegade. It may become reconciled to the conscientious renunciation of religious faith; but not to the party "turn coat." True it is, that "wise men sometimes change their convictions;" but when they change their political convictions they forfeit forever the confidence of their former party associates. The Democrats of Illinois entertained for Gen'l Duncan as a politician, in 1842, the same bitter feeling of resentment that they did in 1866 for Gen'ls Logan and Grant as leaders of the Republican party, and for the same reason. He had deserted them and joined the enemy. As their trusted leader they had given him their enthusiastic support for years, electing him to the State Senate, and for four terms to Congress, and then made him Governor in 1834.

He had already abandoned the Democratic party when he announced himself a candidate for Governor, but concealed from his old friends at home his apostacy and enlistment in the Adams ranks until after his election.* The Democrats in 1842 had not forgotten it; nor had they forgiven him. They remembered, too, that only two years before, he had made himself conspicuous on every occasion by his vile abuse of the Democratic party, in the "coonskin" campaign, that resulted in defeat of the Democratic national ticket. The irritating memories of that acrimonious contest still rankled in their minds and intensified their enmity to him and his party.

And then, as to the Mormon question; the people of Illinois well understood the *animus* prompting the legis-

* Reynolds' Life and Times, p. 447.

lature to enact the Mormon charters. All knew that the rapidly increasing number of Mormon voters, who all voted together, made their support an object eagerly contended for by the two political parties. They also well knew that those extraordinary charters were originated by the Whigs as a bribe to retain to their party the Mormon allegiance. The measures were introduced by a Whig senator and a Whig representative in the two houses of the legislature, with the expectation of their rejection by the Democratic majority, resulting in effectually alienating the Mormons from possible affiliation with the Democratic party in future. But the Democratic leaders were not so easily entrapped, and, much to the surprise of the Whigs, offered no objections, but reported the bills favoraby and helped the Whigs pass them. The sophistry of Judge Stephen A. Douglas then convinced the Mormon Prophet, Jo Smith, that he was indebted altogether to the Democrats in the legislature for securing his atrocious acts of incorporation; and to the Democratic party the Prophet at once transferred his powerful support. The people clearly understood the game attempted to be played by the Whigs, and how they were beaten at it by the Democrats. The Whigs realizing that, after sacrifice of their self-respect, honor and decency, they had lost the coveted prize, then endeavored to retrieve their standing in the State by waging fierce war upon their former allies, the Mormons, and trying to fasten upon the Democratic party the consequences of their own dishonorable folly. All that was fully comprehended by the people, who without exonerating the Democrats in the legislature from blame for their complicity, correctly fixed the responsibility of the disgraceful legislation where it properly belonged, upon the managers of the Whig party.

Considering the temper of opinion in the Democratic party, under the then existing circumstances and conditions, there is no room for doubt that *any* respectable Democratic politician would have been elected by a large majority. In 1840, with all the tremendous exertions of the Whigs through a long campaign, characterized by the most exciting and sensational rallying efforts by the best talents of their party; with novel and attractive displays, and lavish expenditures of money; having a western military hero of renown and of high character and spotless record as their candidate for President, against an eastern civilian of aristocratic tendencies and in no way identified with the west, yet, the Democrats carried Illinois by the majority of 1939, and elected a majority of both houses of the legislature in which the Whigs were before dominant. In the elections of 1840, it must be remembered, too, the Whigs had the aid of the Mormons, amounting then to six or seven hundred votes. Had those votes been given that year to Van Buren instead of Harrison the Democatic majority in Illinois would have exceeded 3,500.

By 1842 the Mormon population of the State had vastly increased. In the city of Nauvoo they numbered nearly 17,000, and in Hancock county outside of Nauvoo, and adjoining counties there were not less than 5,000 more. All adult males among them, twenty-one years of age, voted after having resided in the State six months—or less, as none were challenged. Mr. Snyder, then, had he lived, would have received—and Gov. Ford did receive—over 3,000 Mormon votes. The returns of the election in August, 1842, show the then normal Democratic majority in the State to have exceeded 8,000. In the light of those facts it is apparent that for Gen'l

Duncan to have defeated Mr. Snyder, had he been his competitor, he (Duncan) must have received, in addition to all the Whig votes, more than 4,000 votes of Democrats and Mormons. Gov. Ford knew well that no Whig in Illinois at that election, though far less odious to the Democrats than was Gen'l Duncan, could have detracted the tenth part of that number of votes from *any* candidate of the Democratic party, or could, under *any* circumstances, have been elected.

Jeriah Bonham, who voted in 1842 for Gen'l Duncan, says: "The Whig party, with which he (Duncan) acted, in 1842, again nominated him for governor, but the Democrats were so largely in the ascendent in the State at that time that it was almost a forlorn hope for the Whigs to make a nomination."*

Gov. John Reynolds was writing the closing chapters of his *Life and Times*, when Gov. Ford's *History of Illinois* appeared, in 1854. The book was shown to him, and his attention was especially called to the assertions, or insinuations, of Gov. Ford, heretofore quoted, relative to the probability of Mr. Snyder's defeat; or defeat of any other Democratic leader, by Gov. Duncan, and was asked† if those surmises were well founded. "What d——d nonsense!" said he, "Jo. Duncan beat any of the Democratic leaders! That d——d, contemptible little whelp! (alluding to Ford). Why, sir, I, or any other respectable Democrat then before the people, could have been easily elected. Adam W. Snyder was the most popular man in the State, and had he lived, his majority over Jo. Duncan would have been bigger than Ford's. A good many Whigs would have voted for him, as they always did. He would have had the solid Democratic

* Fifty years Recollections. By Jeriah Bonham, Peoria, 1883, p. 48.
† Asked by the writer of this memoir.

vote, the French vote, of course, all the Dutch and Irish votes, and every d— –d Mormon would have voted for him; and, I tell you, sir, Jo. Duncan with the Whig party and all hell together couldn't have beaten that combination."

Such was also the decided opinion—expressed, however, in more modest terms—of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Hon. Lyman Trumbull, Col. Wm. H. Bissell, Gen'l John M. Palmer, Gen'l John A. McClernand, Col. J. L. D. Morrison, Gov. Koerner, and other noted contemporaneous politicians.

The other reasons advanced by Gov. Ford to account for his nomination by the Springfield caucus, i. e., because he was not a leader, and was believed to have no more than an ordinary share of ambition, and because it was thought he would stand in more need of support from leaders than a leader would, were as absurd as that other reason he states, "because it was doubtful whether any of the leaders could be elected."

Gov. Ford was certainly not a leader, and possessed but few qualifications for leadership or successful statesmanship. Ballance says of him: "He was a small man, with features indicating one from the lower, rather than the upper walk of life. His nose was rather sharp, and bent a little to one side. He was plain and unpretending in his manners. He was no orator, in the common acceptation of the word; but what he said was to the point. He was not a great man, but a smart little man."*

If no other reasons for his selection as the candidate for Governor than those he assigns had been considered by the Springfield caucus, Judge Ford would, beyond all

* The History of Peoria, Illinois. By Charles Ballance. Peoria, Ill., 1870, p. 254.

doubt, have remained undisturbed on the supreme court bench, for which his peculiar talents so well fitted him. And had he when elected Governor curbed his foolish arrogance and vanity, and sought the counsel and guidance of the experienced leaders of his party—that he so much needed—he would perhaps not have proven the lamentable and pitiable failure that he did.

The selection of Judge Ford as the candidate of the Democrats for Governor was due altogether to the fact that he happened to be a resident of the northern part of the State.

After expulsion of the Indians from Illinois, in 1832, the center of the State's population for several years moved rapidly northward, by reason of the great influx of settlers in its northern portion. All the Governors of the State before Carlin had been chosen from the southern counties, and properly so, as those counties contained the bulk of the State's population. By 1837, however, the Democratic voters in the northern counties claimed their strength, loyalty and past services to the party entitled their section to the next candidate for Governor. The justice of that demand was conceded, and Col. James W. Stephenson, of Galena, was accordingly nominated for Governor at the Vandalia convention in December of that year; but owing to his unfortunate financial embarrassment was compelled to withdraw early the next spring. The convention then reassembled and, in obedience to that sectional claim, nominated Thomas Carlin, a citizen of Quincy, in a then northern county. Gov. Carlin's term drawing to its close, Mr. Snyder was nominated practically by acclamation for his successor, in Dec., 1841, without regard to his southern location, because of his exceeding popular-

ity in all parts of the State, and the general confidence of the people in his unsullied character, his genius, and ability to extricate the State from impending bankruptcy. When his death became known the Democratic press and politicians of the northern counties again claimed the candidate to supply his place as their due, and by general agreement suggested Judge Ford, of Ogle county, as the most available man of the party in that section to fill the vacancy on the ticket; but not for the reasons he mentions. The candidate, they urged, should be identified with their locality to satisfy the friends of the Illinois and Michigan canal, of the mining industries of Galena, and of the many interests of the thriving city of Chicago.

Though Judge Ford had never figured prominently in politics his record as a sound Democrat was without flaw or blemish. He was generally well known all over the State, in which he had resided since 1805, as a man of ability and character and of high standing as a jurist. Having never been a candidate for office before the people he had escaped the petty enmities and jealousies that beset all aspirants for popular favors. When his nomination was urged by his northern friends, his old neighbors and acquaintances in the southern counties cordially endorsed their choice. The nomination of Judge Breese was strongly advocated by many of his friends in his circuit, and he would as willingly as Ford have relinquished the supreme court bench for the Governorship; but seeing the trend of popular preference for Ford everywhere he gracefully declined applying for it. So also, Gov. Reynolds, who had just been defeated for nomination for Congress in his district by Robert Smith, of Alton, would gladly have taken the vacant

place at the head of the ticket, but was compelled to yield to the pressure for Ford.

Had Judge Ford all along been a resident of Monroe county, his former home, or any other southern county of the State, there is no probability that he would have been mentioned, or even thought of, in connection with the office of Governor. His residence in Ogle county was the effective factor in his nomination. His location there had recently afforded him the opportunity to render the State valuable service in a question at the time distracting the people of that section, which attracted to him wide-spread attention, and brought him very conspicuously in public notice.

As is well known, the fifth article of the Ordinance of 1787 provided for future division of the Northwestern Territory into not less than three nor more than five states, and named a line drawn from the extreme southern point of Lake Michigan west to the Mississippi river as the northern boundary of Illinois. In January, 1818, when Illinois Territory petitioned Congress for permission to form a State government, Nathaniel Pope, the Illinois delegate in Congress, with wonderful farseeing wisdom, incorporated in the enabling Act an amendment to the 1787 Ordinance of Congress, changing the northern boundary line of the proposed new State to the parallel of 42 degrees and 30 minutes, over sixty one miles north of the lowest curve of Lake Michigan. That masterly stroke of statesmanship added to Illinois the territory comprised in its fourteen northern counties, including, of course, the Galena mineral region, and the city and harbor of Chicago. At that time Wisconsin was part of Michigan Territory.

As early as 1828 the inhabitants of that fourteen

county strip began to agitate the question of separation from this State, and petitioned Congress to be formed into a new territory, on the ground that their annexation to Illinois was a violation of the original compact of 1787, and that the Illinois legislatures were dominated by the southern counties to their neglect and detriment, etc. Ten years later the people of Wisconsin Territory began to seriously discuss the ways and means for their admission into the Union. In December, 1838, their legislature memorialized Congress "to vindicate the right" of their Territory to that part of Illinois north of the original boundary line of 1787; and from that time continued with spirit and earnestness their efforts to recover the disputed district. Again, on Dec. 31st, 1839, their legislature passed a joint resolution authorizing an election to be held on the fourth Monday of the following September for or against forming a State government "including all that district of country north of the line running due west from the most southerly bend of Lake Michigan to the Mississippi river over which the state of Illinois exercises jurisdiction." Though that movement was frustrated for the time, it had the effect of stimulating intense interest in the subject on the Illinois side of the disputed line, which continued to increase until the northern counties were almost in open rebellion.

When the legislative council of Wisconsin Territory in 1840 issued a new declaration of right to the disputed district meetings were held in Jo Daviess, Stephenson, Ogle, Boone, Carroll, Whiteside, Winnebago, Rock Island and McHenry counties, at each of which delegates were appointed to a convention to be held at Rockford on July 6th of that year "to take action for placing us in

Wisconsin where we legally and rightly belong." Nine counties were represented in that convention by 120 delegates, who resolved, among other things, that the people of those counties were "almost unanimously in favor of reestablishing the original boundary line of 1787, and that they would find their interest much advanced by the restoration of the same." The question of uniting with Wisconsin was then submitted to the voters of those counties, and in each was carried with surprising unanimity. That election was held on March 5, 1842, with the result, in Stephenson county of the total of 571 votes, 570 were cast in favor of seceding from Illinois. In Boone county 485 voters favored the proposition to join Wisconsin to 11 against it. In Winnebago 907 voted for secession and only 6 objected to it. The result was about the same in the other counties in which elections were held. The citizens of Cook county observed strict neutrality and did not vote.

One of the earliest and boldest opponents of that secession movement, and who stood almost alone in combating it in the revolting district, was Judge Ford, of Ogle county. From the stump and rostrum he denounced it with telling effect. In his speeches, one of which, delivered in January, 1842, is reported in a Rockford newspaper, he clearly reviewed the strong arguments of Judge Pope in Congress in 1818, and forcibly stating the legal points involved, conclusively demonstrated the constitutionality of the amendment to the Ordinance of 1787 then adopted.

Fortunately for the peace and welfare of the country the jealousies of leading Wisconsin politicians averted the impending trouble by causing their legislature to postpone further action for admission of their Territory

until it received a larger accession of population. They feared annexation of the 60,000 Illinoisans of the fourteen adjacent counties would dominate them to the extent of monopolizing their offices and controlling their State government.

Reaction in pubic sentiment of the northern counties then set in allaying dissatisfaction and rapidly turning to Judge Ford's views. By the time Wisconsin applied for admission—and was admitted into the Union, on March 3d, 1847—the near completion of the Illinois and Michigan canal, the war with Mexico, the dawn of the railroad and telegraph era, and other influences, had extinguished every vestige of disloyalty in that section and fixed its allegiance to Illinois; but the claim of Wisconsin down to the "original line" was maintained for several years later.

The foregoing historical facts render a more rational explanation of Judge Ford's nomination than that he has given, and certainly more to his credit. The apology of the writer for dwelling at such length upon this trivial matter is his desire, and duty, to arrest further transmission of Gov. Ford's misanthropic vaporings to future generations as *history*.

Since Gov. Ford's book appeared, in 1854, two voluminous histories of Illinois have been published, the one by Stuve and Davidson and the other by John Moses. Both are valuable compilations, well arranged, elegantly written, and, in the main, quite reliable. The writers of both in treating of political affairs in Illinois in May and June, 1842, copy Gov. Ford's statements with only such changes of phraseology and added embellishments as their fancy suggested. Thus, in the Stuve & Davidson work the assertion is made with positiveness that,

"It is doubtful if any of the Democratic leaders, in the then temper of the people towards the Mormons, could have been elected over so adroit and courageous a competitor as Duncan. The death of Snyder proved the triumph of the Democracy." The chapter of the book from which this quotation is taken was written by Dr. Bernard Stuve, who was himself a life-long radical Democrat, obviously without special prejudice in favor of Gen'l Duncan or against Col. Snyder, but simply, in thoughtless ignorance of existing conditions at the time, copying Gov. Ford's conjecture. Judge Moses also copied Ford without question or investigation, but with less assurance adds, "while the tide seemed to be turning in Duncan's favor, death stepped in and removed Col. Snyder from the field."

In this way the mistakes of historians, or their random guesses, or reckless assertions, are often copied by subsequent writers who will not give the time or study to verify or correct them, but blindly reissue them as historical facts. Gov. Ford's book will aways retain its high rank in historic literature, though its excellence is in places marred by his severe censures, his harsh and sometimes unjust criticisms, and occasional ambiguous remarks which must charitably be attributed to his soured, morbid temper of mind when he wrote it, consequent upon his blighted ambition and wrecked fortunes.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.

The Snyder Genealogy.

Adam Snyder—no doubt of German parentage—was born in, or near, the city of Strasburg, Province of Alsace, in France, in the year 1750. Of his ancestry nothing is known. The name was originally, Schneider (signifying a tailor, or cutter), a very common German name, but when, where or by whom it was Anglicized to Snyder, no one now knows. Adam Snyder spoke the German language, not the French, and learned to speak English after he came to America. The date of his coming to this country is also unknown; and, in fact, very little is now known concerning him. He was tall, stout, and compactly built, dark complected, with dark hair and eyes. Arriving in the English colonies he located in the town (now city) of Reading, Berks county, Pennsylvania, and there worked at the trade of house carpenter until he enlisted in the Colonial army, during the Revolution. He was severely wounded at the battle of Brandywine in September, 1777. He was discharged from the army at the close of his term of enlistment, in 1779, and the next year, 1780, married and settled on a farm near Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. There three children were born, a son whom he named Balthazer, born March 29th, 1781, and two daughters, Margaret and Barbara, the dates of whose births are now lost.

Balthazer married Miss Mary M. Wartz, near Harrisburg, in 1806, and moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he worked for some time at the trade of wood turning and chair making. Trading ten acres of land he had acquired, now near the center of Cincinnati, for 162 acres of heavily timbered land in Preble county, Ohio, he moved there and passed the remainder of his life in making a farm, and raising a family of eleven children. Of those children two sons, Nimrod, and Henry M. Snyder, located in St. Louis, Mo., and for many years conducted there a bell and brass foundry, stove works, etc. Adam Snyder's eldest

daughter, Margaret, married, in Pennsylvania, a farmer named Jacob Judy, and subsequently moved to Preble county, Ohio, where she died childless, in 1841. The younger daughter, Barbara, married, in Pennslyvania, one Jessey Swisher, and in 1822, moved to Walnut Levels, in Indiana, where she died many years ago, leaving a large family of children.

The wife of Adam Snyder died, and he then changed his residence to Connellsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, and there married a widow named Schaeffer, whose maiden name was Margaret Hartzel, and who was born in Somerset county, Pennsylvania. At the time of her marriage to Adam Snyder she had one son, resulting from her first marriage, named Jacob Schaeffer.

What occupation Adam Snyder had when he resided in Connellsville, cannot now be learned. It is very probable that he had none, as his children were raised in abject poverty, and were made to be self-sustaining early in life. We know nothing of Adam Snyder's habits, mode of living, or personality; but the scant history of him now known, justifies the inference that he was a coarse, uncouth, uncultured man, with little, if any education, no pride of character, and no energy, industry, or frugality. He was perhaps not always sober, or, if sober, totally inefficient and worthless. He was not a member of any church; but had the reputation of being strictly honest. He died, in Connellsville, in 1830, at the age of 80 years. His wife died there in the year following.

There were born in the wedlock of Adam Snyder and Margaret Hartzel Schaeffer, four children, in the following order:

Adam W. Snyder, born in Connellsville, Pa., October 6th, 1799.

Hiram Snyder, born in Connellsville, Pa., Dec. 3d, 1801.

Solomon King Snyder, born in Collinsville, Pa., in January, 1804.

Lydia Snyder, born in Connellsville, Pa., in 1811.

Mrs. Margaret Hartzel Snyder was, intellectually, superior to her husband, and several years his junior. The Hartzels were an old pioneer family in Somerset county, that could boast of some education and refinement of manners. They were mostly plain farmers: one brother of Mrs. Snyder, and her father, were preachers—Dunkards perhaps—and men of very respectable standing in the community in which they lived.

The second son of Adam Snyder, Hiram, when young, had no taste for learning, and attended school barely long enough to acquire knowledge of reading and writing—very indifferently. Hard manual labor was Hiram's lot from early childhood. He grew up to the stature of six feet, broad shouldered, strong, large-boned and rugged in physical development. He was rather dark complected, with black hair and eyes, firm but pleasant features, and well-shaped nose. Hiram Snyder was united in marriage in 1833, or 1834, to Miss Elizabeth Noble, daughter of James and Mary Noble, who was born and raised at Shade Furnace, Somerset county, Pennsylvania. The date of her birth was May 18th, 1809. They were a young, healthy, robust pair, without education or capital, but industrious, energetic and hopeful. They went resolutely to work, he at the iron furnaces, receiving one dollar per day for his labor, and often working half the night for an additional half dollar; she, besides her household drudgery, at washing, sewing and mending for the other furnace hands. They succeeded; bought a farm, a saw mill, another farm, town property, and were wealthy. Hiram Snyder was a typical specimen of the higher class of thrifty Pennsylvania farmers; with unblemished character, perfectly correct habits, intelligent, truthful and honorable. He was not a member of any church, but his wife was a Presbyterian. Their family consisted of four daughters, named Mary, Eliza, Margaret and Lydia, all born within a mile of Connellsville. The three first married young men of that neighborhood, the fourth remaining in single happiness; and all passed their lives in Fayette, or adjoining counties in Pennsylvania. Hiram Snyder was a Democrat in politics, but not a politician. The only public position he ever held, as he said, was "Supervisor of the mud pike." He died, at his farm home, a mile from Connellsville, in May, 1861, of pneumonia, at the age of 59 years and 5 months. His wife survived him until Nov. 9th, 1889, when she sank into everlasting rest at the mature age of 80 years and 6 months.

Of the early life of Solomon King Snyder, third son of Adam and Margaret Hartzel Snyder, nothing is now known. He came to Illinois, from Pennsylvania, and joined his brother, Adam W. Snyder, at the American Bottom farm, near the Sugar Loaf, about the year 1829. He is represented, by those still living who knew him, to have been a young man of gentlemanly deport-

ment, and fine appearance. He was full six feet in height, well proportioned, with handsome face, light complexion, gray-blue eyes and sandy hair. He was intelligent, well informed, and a sprightly, entertaining conversationalist. His education had progressed as far as the study of Latin, and of medicine, being a recognized member of the medical profession. Where he studied medicine, and whether or not he was a graduate of any medical college, no one at present knows. Dr. Solomon K. Snyder was a very bright man, of superior mental endowments, but indolent and totally wanting in industry and ambition. Of social and convivial disposition he habitually associated with the idle and dissolute class and contracted a fondness for drink. There is scarcely a doubt that his education was partly procured by means sent to him by his brother, Adam W. Snyder, who also sent him the necessary funds to pay his way to Illinois. He was furnished an outfit of medicines, books, etc., by his brother, to commence the practice of medicine in the neighboring village Columbia, in Monroe county. But before he had time to establish himself in business there, the Governor issued a call for volunteers to repel the invasion of Black Hawk, and Dr. Snyder immediately enlisted as a private, in the company of Capt. Thomas Harrison, raised in Monroe county, and served until mustered out of service at the mouth of Fox River on May 28th, 1832. In reorganization of the Illinois troops that followed, he reenlisted, as a private, in Capt. Alexander D. Cox's company. Again mustered out, at Fort Wilbourn, on June 15th, he returned to Columbia with the habits of dissipation more confirmed. When Adam W. Snyder removed his residence from the Bottom to Belleville, in 1833, he brought his brother, the Doctor, with him, and furnished an office for him on the public square, and did all he could to establish him there in his profession, but with little success. In the fall of 1835, Dr. Snyder was stricken down with typho-malarial fever. His brother, Adam W. Snyder, had him immediately conveyed to his own residence, where he received all possible attention and the best medical aid at hand; but he gradually failed, and early in September, died. He left no estate whatever, and was never married. He was buried in the old cemetery at Belleville, and his dust still lies about midway between the Catholic bishop's residence and the Parochial school building. On a neat stone placed at the head

of his grave his brother caused to be carved a suitable inscription, with the added epiitaph, "Ye men of genius tread lightly o'er his ashes; for he was your kinsman." To place that sentiment on the grave of Doctor Solomon K. Snyder was a commendable tribute of fraternal affection, if not strictly appropriate. It was afterwards placed upon the tomb of Adam W. Snyder as a proper recognition of *his* mental abilities, and because he had himself selected it as an epitaph for his brother.

Lydia, the youngest of Adam Snyder's children, did not escape the hard lines that embittered the youthful days of her brothers. Her girlhood was passed, uneventfully, at home with her parents, in household drudgery and ignorance. She learned to read and write, and that was about the extent of her literary education. She married in 1833, a shiftless, worthless fellow, named William Hawk, and continued her cheerless life in uninterrupted poverty. Several children were born to them, who, fortunately, all died in infancy but two, a son and daughter. Hawk abandoned his family, and was heard of no more. His wife received substantial aid from her two brothers, Hiram and Adam W. Snyder, so long as they lived, and managed to raise her children respectably. She was medium sized, of good figure, with dark complexion, black hair and eyes, and regular features. She was not of happy disposition; too much given to repining, and complaining of her hard lot and unsympathetic surroundings. Her children are named Hiram Snyder Hawk and Margaret; both long since married. She died at Braddock's Field, Pa., on the 25th of January, 1889, and was buried near her parents at Connellsville.

Mrs. Adelaide Snyder, wife of Adam W. Snyder, died, after a brief illness, in Belleville, Illinois, on the 13th of May, 1881, aged 79 years, 3 months and 19 days. Mr. and Mrs. Snyder lost the following named children in their infancy:

Perry Snyder, born February 22d, 1822, and died August 18th 1822.

Frank Snyder, born Dec. 21st, 1823, and died on October 7th, 1824.

Adelaide Snyder, born June 20th, 1833, and died on the 8th of April, 1834.

Edward Short Snyder, born on May 9th, 1841, and died on the 8th of October, 1841.

Their three children who survived the complaints and diseases of early life, were William Henry Snyder, Frederick Adam Snyder, and John Francis Snyder. William Henry Snyder was born at the Perry homestead in Prairie du Pont, St. Clair county, Illinois, on the 12th of July, 1825. He graduated at McKendree college, in March, 1843, and immediately commenced the study of law in the law office of Gustavus Koerner. In 1845 he was appointed Postmaster at Belleville, Ill., by President Polk. He was admitted to the bar in December, 1846. In the spring of 1847 he enlisted in a company (E) of volunteer infantry for the Mexican war, was elected first lieutenant, and mustered into service, at Alton, Ill., on the 8th of June, 1847, and in the organization of the regiment (Col. E. W. B. Newby's First Illinois Infantry) he was appointed Adjutant. Served in New Mexico, and was discharged, at Alton on the 14th of October, 1848. In 1849, at the expiration of his term as Postmaster, he was elected justice of the peace. In 1850 he was elected a member of the lower house of the legislature, and re-elected in 1852. In 1854 he was appointed Prosecuting Attorney by Gov. Matteson. In 1856 he was nominated by the Democratic State convention for Secretary of State, and was defeated. In the fall of the same year he was tendered the appointment of second lieutenant in the U. S. Cavalry and declined it. In 1857 he was elected circuit judge. On June 23d, 1857, he was united in marriage to Miss Jane E. Champion, of Belleville. In 1868 he was nominated by the Democrats of his district for Congress, and was defeated. In 1870 he was elected a member of the Constitutional convention. In 1873 he was again elected circuit judge, and re-elected in 1879. At the expiration of his term in 1885 he declined being again a candidate, and returned to the practice of law. He died, of apoplexy, on the evening of December 24th, 1892, at the age of 67 years, 5 months and 12 days. His wife died, of cerebro-spinal meningitis, on the 8th of January, 1894, aged 62 years, 6 months and 21 days. When a young man Judge Snyder joined the Odd Fellows, but gave up his membership in a short time. He spoke and read French, and was learned in classic literature, in history and in the law. He was always a Democrat in politics, and not a church member.

Frederick Adam Snyder was born on the American Bottom farm, near the Sugar Loaf, in St. Clair county, Illinois, on Dec.

28th, 1827. He graduated at McKendree college, Lebanon, St. Clair county, in March, 1843, at the early age of 16 years. He then learned to set type in the office of *The St. Clair Banner*, in Belleville. He subsequently studied law in the law office of Kinney & Bissell and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1847. Very shortly after that he received from President Polk the appointment of second lieutenant of Company G, 16th U. S. Infantry, and reported to Col. Helm, at Louisville, Ky., for duty. He served, with that regiment, in the district south of the Rio Grande and Saltillo, in Mexico, until the close of the war, and the regiment was mustered out of service at New Orleans, in October, 1848. In 1849 he crossed the plains to California, and there mined for some time with indifferent success, and finally, in San Francisco, secured a position on the editorial staff of the *Alta-Californian*. In 1852 he was elected, by the Democrats, a member of the legislature to represent one of the San Francisco districts. When his term expired, having higher political aspirations, he, with Dan. W. Gelwicks as partner, established *The Mountain Democrat*, in El Dorado county, California. In midsummer, 1854, with a party of friends, he went on an "outing" to Lake Bigler (or Taho), and on the 23d of July, 1854, when walking on the lake shore, he suddenly fell, with sun stroke, or apoplexy, and immediately expired.

He died at the age of 26 years, 7 months and 15 days, and was buried near the spot where he fell. His remains were never removed, and still rest there in eternal repose amid the desolate grandeur of the beautiful lake and lofty, pine-clad mountains. He was not married; nor a member of any church, or secret society. He was, in politics, a Democrat and an active politician. In childhood he was very precocious, and grew up to be a young man of bright intellect, with sparkling oratory, and cordial, friendly disposition. Princely in stature, light complected, with blue eyes and brown hair, he was strikingly handsome in figure and features, and admirable for his big-hearted generosity and manly honor.

Dr. John Francis Snyder, the youngest son, and now the only survivor of Adam W. Snyder's family, having passed the threescore years and ten allotted to man, and retired from all active business, has devoted some leisure hours to this attempt—undertaken at a late day—to rescue from total forgetfulness the memory of his father, and kinsmen.

The last Will and testament of Adam W. Snyder was written by himself on the 8th of November, 1840, and witnessed by John Whitehead and Charles Mount. By that instrument he bequeathed all his property, real and personal, to his wife and three sons in equal portions. He appointed Gustavus Koerner, Lyman Trumbull and James Semple executors of his will and guardians of his sons, and directed that to each son should be given a collegiate education, who, after graduation, should select the life avocation he preferred.

Note B.

John Francis Perry and Family.

Jean Francois Perrey, son of Jean Perrey and Louise Villette, of the Bourg de Perrey, in the Province of Bourgogne, in France, was born there—not far from the City of Lyons—in the year 1766. His parents were of the middle class of citizens, educated, cultured, and, financially, in easy circumstances. Young Perrey had passed through the higher schools with credit, and had taken a course in the law school when his father sent him to America that he might escape the threatened outbreak of the French revolution.

Gov. Reynolds, who was personally acquainted with Mr. Perry, gives the following sketch of him, in his *Pioneer History of Illinois*: (Second, or Fergus, edition, 1887, pp. 287-290.) "In 1792, Jean Francis Perry emigrated from France and settled in Illinois. He was a native of the City of Lyons, in France, and was the descendant of a very respectable and wealthy family of that famous city. His mother was a branch of the French nobility and his father a judge of dignity and high standing in Lyons. Young Perry received a liberal and classic education. He also studied and practiced law in France. He was gifted by nature with a strong mind, and improved it by the best education the old country could bestow on him, which made him a very superior man. He was forced away from the bright prospects before him, of wealth, honor, and high standing with his countrymen, and left his native land, his father's house and family, for an asylum in America. The French revolution breaking out, caused him to migrate to the United States. His father decided that his son must retire from the scenes of bloodshed

for safety in the new world. He was fitted out with money and came to the United States. He associated with him, M. Claudius, a Frenchman, in merchandising, and they started from Philadelphia to the west. They passed the new settlement of Gallipolis on the Ohio; but the good sense of Perry advised him that the settlement was too new and too poor for him. He and partner reached Cahokia with their small store of goods; but soon after settled in Prairie du Pont.

In a few years after they had opened their store, Claudius went to Philadelphia to purchase goods, and was killed by being thrown from his horse in the streets of the city. His foot caught in the stirrup and he was dragged and torn to death on the pavements.

Perry purchased the ancient mill-site on Prairie du Pont creek, where the mission of St. Sulspice first erected a mill, long before the cession of the country to Great Britian in 1763. He built on this site a new and profitable mill and occupied the dwelling near it with himself and family. About this time, 1797, he married a young and beautiful creole, a daughter of Jean B. Saucier. This union was prosperous and happy. Although Perry was a sound and well-read lawyer, yet he never practiced in our courts. He availed himself of the intelligence of the law and his great energy and activity in business; so he amassed a great fortune in a very few years. He started into operating his mill and kept his store also in profitable order; so that both these means advanced his fortune; but the greatest part of his wealth was acquired by his profitable commerce in lands. His strong mind, together with his knowledge of the law, enabled him to enter the arena of land speculation with the power to contend with a giant in the traffic.

He owned at his death choice selected lands all over the country, and what is the best evidence of his sound judgment, he owed not a cent at his decease.

Perry was, with all his wealth, a plain, unostentatious man, and lived and dressed in true republican style. He paid due regard to all the various rules of economy, and was amiable and benevolent in an eminent degree. His house was always open to the poor coming from a distance to his mill, and he entertained and made them comfortable and happy with everything his means afforded. He was very popular and much esteemed

by all classes of people. His friends forced him into public employments; he acted a long series of years as a judge of the court of common pleas. He also acted as a justice of the peace in and for the old St. Clair County almost all his life after he reached Illinois. Perry learned well the English language; so he was at home in that as well as in the French. He was prevailed on to serve one or more sessions in the legislature of Indiana Territory. He was there in one session at Vincennes with Judge Bond and Major Murdock, members of St. Clair County. He acquitted himself in all these various offices with honor to himself and advantage to the public. Some years before his death, by some excessive exertion, he injured his constitution, which caused his death. His system was so deranged that the blood-vessels refused to perform their ordinary functions. He wrote to Dr. Rush, of Philadelphia, on the subject, and had directions from that celebrated physician how to manage the case. He lingered in this situation for several years, and became, by disease or by some other means, very corpulent. Blood was taken from him every month or oftener, to save his life. He died in 1812, in Prairie du Pont, where he had resided for nearly twenty years. His decease was a sore calamity to his family and the public of that section of the country. His family lost a kind, amiable, tender parent and husband, and his neighborhood was deprived of their best friend.

His mind, as it has already been stated, was of the first order for strength and solidity. It was improved and trained by education and by profound meditation. He had nothing of the gaudy or tinsel character in his composition; but his talents and energy, in this new and poor country, had not the appropriate theatre in which to act. He was forced off from his country and settled in an obscure corner. His talents at Prairie du Pont were like "the rose that wastes its fragrance on the desert air." He possessed great energy and activity in business, and with these qualifications, he reached the *ne plus ultra* of his situation. He was placed in the highest offices in the country and became very wealthy; so he acted well his part in the limited sphere in which he was situated. He was upright and correct in his morals, but never identified himself with any church. His church was nature's creation before him, and God the teacher."

Though generally very accurate and reliable in all statements

of important historic facts and incidents, due allowance must be made for the style of indiscriminate panegyric adopted by Gov. Reynolds in writing his biographical sketches of Illinois pioneers. His long years of self-training in the fine art of electioneering impressed him with the wisdom of the ancient maxim, *"de mortuus nil nisi bonum;"* particularly if the dead had living relatives, or descendants, around to read what he wrote concerning them. But, apart from motives of mere policy, he was naturally averse to committing himself to any statement, however true, that would tend to wound the feelings of anyone; consequently, in his pen pictures of individuals, he presented only the bright tints, with little or no shading.

Jean Francois Perrey, as he wrote his name in French, Anglicized to John Francis Perry, was, no doubt, superior in intelligence and acquirements to the large majority of people in that community. He was a French gentleman of education and refinement; but that he "practiced law in France," and "was a sound and well-read lawyer," are allegations not verified by any known evidence. In 1801, he was appointed, by Governor St. Clair, "a Justice of the General Court of Quarter Sessions, sitting also as a County Court of Common Pleas." The records are silent as to the duration of his service in that office. That he acted as justice of the peace in his precinct for several years is true; and that he "was prevailed on to serve one or more sessions in the Legislature of Indiana Territory," and "was there in one session at Vincennes with Judge Bond and Major Murdock, representatives of St. Clair County," is also true. On Sept. 11, 1804, Governor Harrison submitted the question of raising Indiana Territory to the second grade to a popular vote, which was carried, and an election for members of the legislature was ordered to be held on Jan. 3, 1805. At that election Wm. Biggs and Shadrach Bond of St. Clair county and George Fisher of Randolph were elected to represent Illinois Territory. By proclamation of Governor Harrison the legislature convened at Vincennes on July 29th following, and submitted to President Jefferson ten names from which five should be selected for members of the Territorial Council (or Senate). Governor Harrison, to whom that duty was delegated by the President, selected for the Illinois members of the Council, Jean Francois Perrey of St. Clair County and

Pierre Menard of Randolph. That legislature held a second session, at Vincennes, beginning on August 16, 1807, but no change was made in the membership of either house.

Governor William Henry Harrison called a convention to meet at Vincennes, capital of Indiana Territory, on the 20th of December, 1802, to petition Congress to repeal, or suspend operation of, that clause of the Ordinance of 1787 prohibiting slavery in the Northwestern Territory. At an election held in Cahokia on the 7th of December, 1802, for three delegates to represent St. Clair county, Illinois, in that convention, Shadrack Bond, Sr., Jean Francois Perrey and John Murdock were elected, defeating Wm. Biggs, Isaac Darneille, James Lemen and Wm. Arundel. Bond, Perry and Murdock journeyed to Vincennes, across the trackless prairies and bridgeless streams, in midwinter, and faithfully executed the trust for which they were elected. Mr. Perry was pro-slavery in sentiment, *i. e.* in favor of the institution of slavery as it then existed in the Territory; but, so far as can be ascertained, was not a slave holder. He was shrewd and active in business, and was, for those times, in opulent circumstances. The "great fortune," Gov. Reynolds says "he amassed in a few years," comprised his residence at Prairie du Pont, a story and a-half double log house with stone chimneys; a one-story log store house, a little water mill on the Prairie du Pont creek that was dry two-thirds of each year, and land claims he purchased or traded goods for, before the act of Congress of March 26, 1804, establishing the first land offices, at Vincennes and Kaskaskia. They amounted to 5,500 acres, then valued at 15 to 20 cents per acre. The claims were confirmed to him by the U. S. Commissioners, Michael Jones, Elijah Bakus, John Caldwell and Shadrach Bond, a short time before his death in 1812. The assessed valuation of his estate at his death, including his land claims, could not have amounted to more than five or six thousand dollars. The statement that his father was a judge in France rests upon the authority of Gov. Reynolds alone. Mr. Perry may have imparted that information to the Governor.

There is every reason to believe that his father—whether a judge or not—was a "Bourgeois," or citizen of respectability and ample means. Mr. Perry came to Illinois well supplied with money to enable him to establish himself in any branch

of business he might prefer. His polished manners and polite, courteous deportment testified to the refined social conditions in which he was reared. Of his "outfit," brought from France, the few articles that descended as heirlooms to his family—denoting his station in society there to be that of a gentleman—were a fine gold watch that, on pressing a spring, struck the hours on a tiny enclosed bell; a heavy gold watch seal; a large silver snuff box; a silver mounted poniard with silver scabbard, and his passport out of France signed by the King, Louis XVI.

Mr. Perry was united in marriage in 1787 to Mam'selle Adelaide Saucier, only daughter of Captain John Baptiste Saucier, of Cahokia. Captain Saucier was a lieutenant in the engineer corps of the French army when he came to Illinois with Chevalier Makarty, the newly appointed Commandant of Fort Chartres, in 1751; and he designed the plans for the new fort, built of stone, and superintended its construction. After France ceded her American possessions to England in 1763, Captain Saucier resigned his commission, and settled in Cahokia, where he resided until his death.*

That union was blessed by four children, all daughters, namely: Louisa, born in 1799; Josephine, in 1801, and died in 1812 a few months after the death of her father, Adelaide, born Jan. 24, 1803, and Harriet on Feb. 13, 1807. Mr. Perry was not a member of the Catholic church or—Gov. Reynolds says—of any church; but his fixed belief in, and humble reverence for, an overruling, omniscient and omnipresent Deity, gave rise, perhaps, to the opinion, entertained by some who knew him, that he was a Huguenot in France and fled to America to secure the enjoyment of religious liberty then not tolerated there.

The schoolmaster not yet having penetrated the western wilds as far as Prairie du Pont, the Catholic priest of Cahokia, a mile distant, was the only instructor of the rising generation in that community, and he only taught his young parishioners, orally, to repeat, parrot-like, the catechism; and firmly grounded in their minds belief in the miracles and infallibility of the Pope. Not satisfied with that curriculum of instruction, Mr. Perry undertook the education of his daughters himself, in the

* Captain John Baptiste Saucier at Fort Chartres in the Illinois, 1751-1763. By Dr. J. F. Snyder, Peoria, Ill., 1901, Smith & Schaefer.

elementary branches, preparatory to sending them, when sufficiently advanced, to proper schools in the east; and, had his life been spared, he would doubtless have bestowed upon them the learning and accomplishments befitting the station in life he desired they should occupy. His two elder daughters learned to read and write French, and had commenced other studies when his death occurred, and their further literary education was suspended.

In stature, Mr. Perry was five feet ten inches in height, rather heavy set, but well formed, and very prepossessing in appearance. He had regular features, dark hair and eyes, and a pleasant expression of face. He was popular with all people, and distinguished for his kindness, charity and unstinted hospitality. Honor with him was instinctive, not the bantling of policy, and he recoiled from everything suggestive of deceit, vulgarity or immorality. He was always very accommodating to his friends and neighbors, many of whom looked to him for assistance, counsel and guidance in their business affairs. After passing the thirty-fifth year of his age an obscure disease of the circulation—or heart—insidiously invaded his system, threatening in its development and progress to terminate his life by apoplexy or asphyxia. He became corpulent and, at times, much embarrassed in respiring. He visited Philadelphia and consulted Doctor Benjamin Rush, of that city, then one of the most eminent physicians in the United States, and the course of treatment, and regimen, he advised, though having but little curative effect, no doubt prolonged his life to some extent. But he died in August, 1812, at the early age of 46, and was buried in Cahokia.

After the death of Mr. Perry, his daughters, deprived of his wise counsel, and further enlightenment, were led by their mother into the Catholic church, to which they adhered, with increasing devotion, to the close of their lives.

Mr. Perry's widow married, in 1815, one Augustine Pensoneau, a very ordinary, illiterate Canadian Frenchman, who died in 1819, leaving her with two additional small children, Augustine and Felicite Pensoneau. Mr. Perry's eldest daughter, Louise, was married when quite young, to Joseph Trotier, a native of Cahokia, and died within a year after her marriage. The second daughter, Josephine, died when eleven years of age,

in 1812. The third daughter, Adelaide, eldest of the two living, whose education had progressed no farther than reading and writing the French language, was married October 18, 1820, to Adam W. Snyder. Her changed and improved associations after marriage, stimulated her desire for a wider range of knowledge. She learned to speak and read the English language, and through that medium gained considerably in scholarship and general information, yet never attained the degree of culture so much desired by her father and husband. She acquitted herself passably well in the new and intellectually higher circles to which her marriage with Mr. Snyder introduced her, but retained the simple tastes and manners of her girlhood, and still clung with affection to the traditions and memories that clustered about Cahokia and its people.

Mr. Perry's youngest daughter, Harriet, in 1822, when still lacking two months of completing her sixteenth year of age, married Louis Pensoneau, a young man born and reared in Cahokia. They began together the momentous journey of wedded life on a farm, five miles east of St. Louis on the Belleville road, known as La Pointe a La Pierre; the name originating from a point of timber there jutting into the prairie, and the place having formerly belonged to a Frenchman named La Pierre. Only four years after they commenced farming, with every prospect of a prosperous and happy future before them, in 1826 Pensoneau died, leaving his young widow with an infant son, Louis Perry Pensoneau, now a citizen of Murphysboro, Ill. She then returned to Prairie du Pont and remained there with her mother until 1833. In March of that year, having purchased a house and two or more lots lying between the premises of Gov. Reynolds and A. W. Snyder, in Belleville, she left the American Bottom and located in her new home. Her mother came with her to pass the evening of her days with all her children together, her lease of life ending in October of the succeeding year, 1834. She, the daughter of Capt. John Baptiste Saucier, and wife of John Francis Perry, passed away at the age of fifty-six, and, conveyed to Cahokia, her remains were laid in a grave adjoining that of Mr. Perry, and near that of her father, in the old cemetery contiguous to the church. Her son, Augustine Pensoneau, was taken by Mr. Snyder and reared by him as one of his

family; the daughter, Felicite, was adopted in the family of Mrs. Harriet Pensoneau, and, in 1836, was married to Narcisse Pensoneau. For many years Mrs. Harriet (Perry) Pensoneau resided in Belleville. She never remarried; never mastered the English language so as to converse with ease, and remained illiterate. She was a noble woman, possessing the most sterling qualities of heart and mind. She left Belleville with her half sister, Felicite, and her family, in 1868, and lived with them on a farm in the eastern part of St. Clair county until her death, that occurred on April 22, 1882.

MUSTER ROLL

...OF...

CAPT. A. W. SNYDER'S COMPANY

...OF...

MOUNTED VOLUNTEERS

Note C.

Muster roll of Capt. A. W. Snyder's company of mounted volunteers in the Black Hawk war; enrolled at the mouth of Fox River, Ill., May 27th, 1832.

NAME AND RANK.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
CAPTAIN.		
Adam W. Snyder	St. Clair Co	
FIRST LIEUTENANT.		
John Winstanley	St. Clair Co	
SECOND LIEUTENANT.		
John T. Lusk	Madison Co	
SERGEANTS.		
Nathan Johnson	Monroe Co	
Solomon Spann	St. Clair Co	
James Taylor	St. Clair Co	
Josiah R. Gillam	Madison Co	
CORPORALS.		
H. Hartline	Monroe Co	Gun lost in battle, June 16th, 1832.
Benj. McDaniel	St. Clair Co	Killed in battle June 16th, and horse lost.
Robt. B. Pierce	Madison Co	
Thos. Cook	St. Clair Co	
PRIVATES.		
Abbott, Isaac	St. Clair Co	Horse killed June 16th.
Ashby, J. W	St. Clair Co	
Adams, Orien M	Madison Co	On express.
Brooks, Benjamin	St. Clair Co	On command.
Baker, John T	St. Clair Co	
Cornelius, I. M. McTy	Monroe Co	Gun lost in battle, June 16th.
Cleveland, Loren	Madison Co	Died in service June 12th, 1832.
Dikes, George P	St. Clair Co	
Gillespie, Joseph	Madison Co	
Hendricks, Elijah A	St. Clair Co	Sick; absent.
Herrington, Charles	Madison Co	On furlough.
Hamilton, Wm	Madison Co	
Hill, Pendleton	Monroe Co	
Harrison, Henry	Putnam Co	
Hall, John	LaSalle Co	On furlough.
Jarrott, Francis	St. Clair Co	
Kinney, George D	St. Clair Co	
Lusk, Marcus	Madison Co	
Lawrence, John	Madison Co	
Lamusett, Pierre	LaSalle Co	On command.

NAME AND RANK.	RESIDENCE.	REMARKS.
Makemsen, Wm. B	St. Clair Co	Killed June 16th, in battle.
McElroy, Jas. E	Monroe Co	On command.
Motley, O. C	Madison Co	
McClain, Isaac	Madison Co	On furlough.
Moore, John M	Madison Co	
McLemore, William	Monroe Co	[1832
McCalaugh, Sam'l	Madison Co	Delivered to civil authorities June 13th,
Menard, Pierre	Randolph Co	Absent without leave.
Needles, James B	Monroe Co	
Otwell, Ceylon G	Madison Co	
Owens, Lewis	Randolph Co	Absent without leave.
Randle, Josias	Madison Co	On furlough.
Right, William	St. Clair Co	
Roman, Richard	St. Clair Co	
Randle, Richard R	Madison Co	On command.
Right, John	Monroe Co	
Smith, Levi	Madison Co	
Scott, Charles	St. Clair Co	
Stephenson, Benj	Madison Co	
Shields, George B	Madison Co	
Semple, James	Madison Co	
Scott, Benjamin	St. Clair Co	
Spencer, Russell H	Rock Island Co	Killed June 16th, 1832.
Thomas, John	St. Clair Co	
Thomas, W. S	St. Clair Co	Promoted to Major.
Teter, Solomon	St. Clair Co	
Teter, Philip	St. Clair Co	
Torence, Wm. W	Madison Co	
Whiteside, Joseph	St. Clair Co	
Whiteside, Samuel	St. Clair Co	
Woods, John	Madison Co	
Welker, Joseph	St. Clair Co	Gun lost in battle June 16th.
Wilderman, Levi	St. Clair Co	
Wheeler, Erastus	Madison Co	On command.
West, Henry H	St. Clair Co	
Whitten, B	Pike Co	On command. Gun lost in battle June 16th.
Wells, Lucius	Pike Co	On command.
Wells, John	Rock Island Co	On command.

DR. J. F. SNYDER.